

Teamsters
and the
mob

IN THESE TIMES

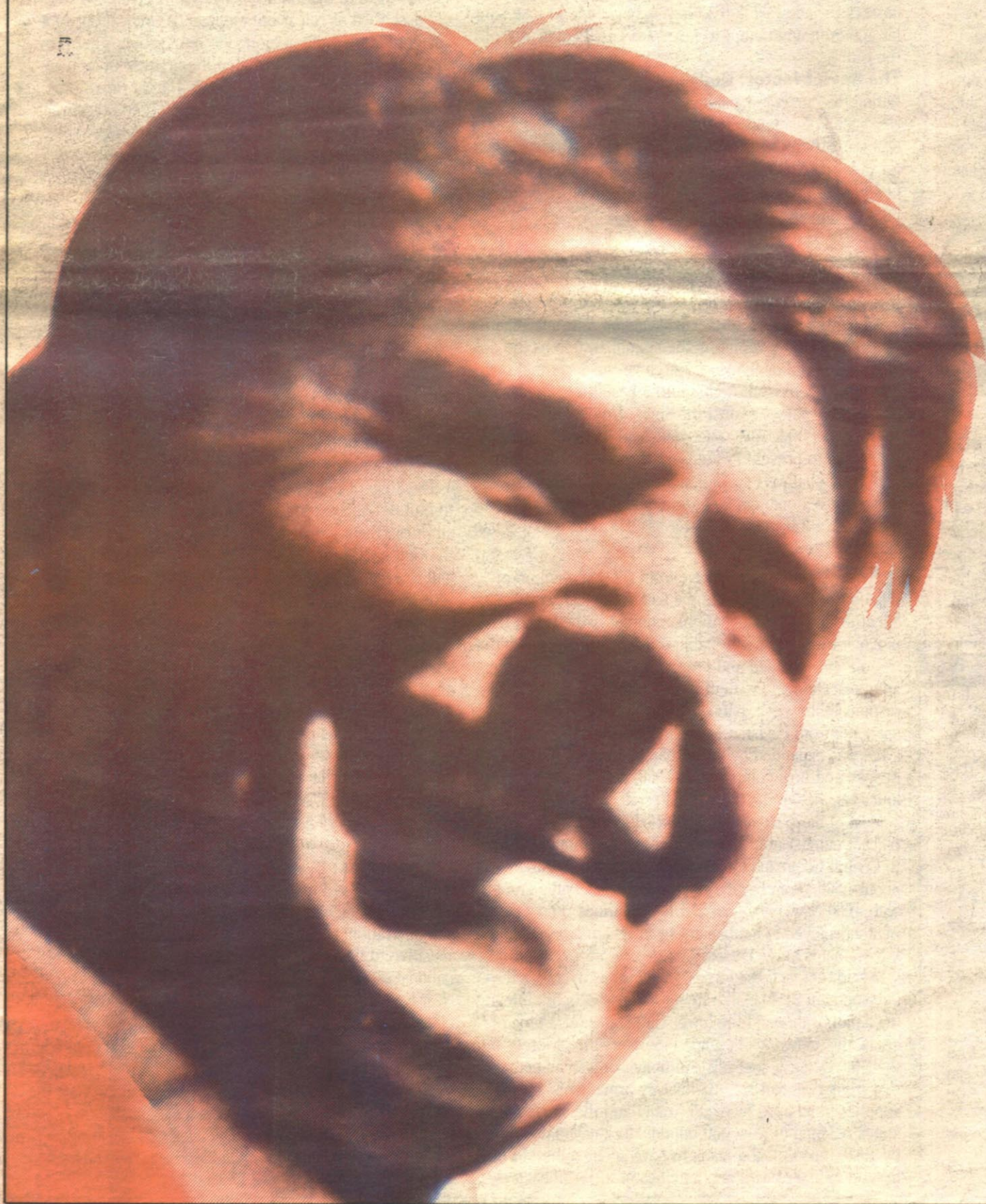
VOL. 11, NO. 28

JUNE 24-JULY 7, 1987

\$1.25

PAGE 6

Did Reagan steal the 1980 election?



Evidence suggests
his campaign cut
a deal with Iran—
not to get 52 U.S.
hostages back, but
to keep them there
to ensure Carter's
defeat.

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Nuclear threat in Gulf as U.S. considers attacking Iran

By Rex B. Wingerter

WASHINGTON

The Reagan White House is reviewing plans that call for a full-scale assault against Iran's military and economic installations in the event of an Iranian attack on U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf, according to Defense and State Department observers. The plans reportedly call for the complete destruction of Iran's naval and air forces. American B-52 bombers may also be ordered against Iran's vital oil-pumping station at Kharg Island. U.S. foreign policy observers also point out that a U.S. attack against Iran has the potential of escalating into a conflict with the Soviet Union—a conflict that would involve the threat, if not the reality, of nuclear battle.

Old scores: At least part of the eagerness to attack Iran, said one knowledgeable source, comes from wanting to "settle old scores with Iran, such as the U.S. hostages, the bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut and U.S. Embassy in Kuwait." Most of the agitation for an Iranian strike arises from mid-level Pentagon officials, but support also can be found among their State Department counterparts. "What you hear in some parts of the Defense and State Departments to describe what they would like to do to Iran," continued this source, "are words like 'Rolling Thunder' and 'Arc Light.'" These names were Pentagon codes for the air war against Southeast Asia during the '60s. "Arc Light" exclusively described B-52 bombing runs against Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The kind of Iranian action that would trigger a U.S. military response is unclear. An attack against U.S. ships or Kuwaiti oil ships that the White House wants to put under U.S. flags would almost certainly ensure U.S. military retaliation. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger hinted in early June that the U.S. would launch a pre-emptive attack on Iran's Silkworm missiles after they became operational along the Strait of Hormuz, a 30 to 50-mile-wide

orders, as when they recently attacked a Norwegian tanker on its way to pick up Iranian oil. "Would the White House order U.S. air strikes against Iran if some Revolutionary Guard speedboat strafed a U.S. ship?" asks Axelgard. "I don't know and I'm not convinced that they do, either," he concludes.

"The Reagan administration," says Yahya Sadowski, a specialist on the Mideast at the Brookings Institution, "has absolutely no sense of what its specific objectives are in the Gulf." He points to conflicting U.S. justifications for expanded military presence in the Gulf. "Protecting the sea lanes, fending off Soviet encroachment, deterring an Iranian attack against our Arab Gulf allies and re-establishing U.S. credibility following the Iran-contra affair," Sadowski points out, "have all been invoked. No one is quite exactly sure why we are getting so involved."

Sadowski also believes that this confusion, coupled with Congress' reluctance to get involved in the Gulf following the attack on the *USS Stark*, "provides an enormous temptation for Iran to launch one blistering-quick strike against the U.S." Decision-makers in Tehran probably know that such an attack would cost them dearly. But they may think it worth it if it disrupts U.S. support for Iraq and ends what some Iranian leaders think is a U.S.-Soviet effort to isolate Iran and end the war on terms favorable to Iraq. "After seeing how the U.S. quickly evacuated from Lebanon after the bombing of the Marine barracks," Sadowski notes, "Iran may gamble to take similar action in an attempt to force the 'Great Satan' out of the Gulf."

The Soviet factor: Further complicating and exacerbating the current crisis, however, is a deeper and larger U.S. agenda for the Gulf. The region not only holds important oil resources but "it has become a key strategic theater in U.S.-Soviet rivalry," according to Joe Stork, editor of *MERIP Middle East Reports*. "The enormous U.S. military buildup in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf," says Stork, "accomplished largely under the cover of the Iran-Iraq war, includes numbers and quality of aircraft, radar and nuclear blast-hardened command posts more advanced than those of NATO."

Scott Armstrong, a former *Washington Post* investigative reporter who now monitors the administration as the head of the National Security Archive, suspects that the U.S. has turned Saudi Arabia into a base from which to project U.S. power against the Soviet Union. Former U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig said in 1981 that the U.S. seeks to prevent in the Gulf "a change in the status quo." Any challenge to Gulf stability, such as domestic uprisings, regional conflicts or a Soviet invasion would be met "with a full range of power assets," Haig told a Senate subcommittee.

These "power assets" range from the intervention of U.S. conventional forces to the use of nuclear weapons. Spearheading any conventional conflict is the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), established by the Carter administration and renamed and reorganized under the Reagan administration as the Central Command. Its operational responsibility was expanded to include a geographic area spanning from Pakistan to the Persian Gulf to Egypt. Its force was expanded by more than 50 percent under Reagan and now comprises 300,000 men drawn from the four branches of the U.S. armed services.

Most of these troops remain based in the U.S., but a significant number are stationed in the region. And in addition to Central Command forces, 5,000 troops are in Turkey and about 1,500 are in Egypt. An aircraft carrier "battle group" with 4,000 Navy personnel and 1,800 Marines is now permanently deployed in the Indian Ocean, as are at least five U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf.

In addition to these forces, the U.S. has overseen the development of an elaborate air defense network integrating Saudi Arabia and the lower Gulf states. At a time of crisis, this network will guide U.S. intervention forces into the Gulf. Defense specialist Anthony Cordesman estimated that from 1980 to 1985, the military armaments and supplies purchased by Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf states reached at least \$50 billion. Stork calculates that by 1990, the Pentagon plans to have spent some \$14 billion on military bases and facilities in the region. "It is

the largest construction program of its kind since the end of the Vietnam War," Stork observed.

Saudi Arabia and Oman stockpile military equipment and supplies for U.S. forces and permit U.S. warships and aircraft to use their facilities. But Washington overtures for permanent, large-scale bases in the region have repeatedly been rebuffed. Some observers suspect that the White House may be currently exaggerating Iran's threat to the Gulf in order to scare Saudi Arabia into giving the U.S. its long-sought Saudi base.

Pentagon planners hope local insurgencies or regional threats can be extinguished by local, pro-Western Arab forces but are ready to intervene with U.S. power, including nuclear weapons. "Washington's Cold-War perspective," argues Stork, "which interprets that change anywhere in the world is the consequence of Soviet Union machinations has made the nuclear option integral to the Pentagon's defense of the Persian Gulf monarchies."

The RDF, for example, hinged on the use of the U.S. nuclear arsenal to oppose any Soviet moves in the Gulf. Because RDF forces would not be strong enough to stop a Soviet "thrust into northern Iran," a key 1980 Pentagon analysis urged that U.S. "consider using 'tactical' nuclear weapons in any conflict there." U.S. troops in the region act as a "trip-wire." If those troops would be confronted by Soviet forces Washington would escalate the conflict by using nuclear threats, explained Stork.

Nuclear reality: The reality of nuclear war planning for the Persian Gulf was made clear in April 1980. In response to what the military magazine *Armed Forces Journal* described as "clear but ambiguous" indications of a Soviet military buildup along the border of northern Iran, the Joint Chiefs of Staff debated the first use of tactical nuclear weapons. Defense Secretary Harold Brown was told by the Joint Chiefs that the U.S. had "no other" military option to prevent the Soviets from moving south, according to *Armed Forces*. But 1980 was not the first time the U.S. showed its willingness to go to nuclear war with the Soviet Union over the Persian Gulf. It has "been contemplated by American planners since 1949," and has continued into the '80s, writes Joshua Epstein in his book *Strategy and Force Planning: The Case of the Persian Gulf*.

Epstein points out that during the Nixon administration the joint chiefs proposed a scenario in which nearly 200 nuclear weapons would be fired into the southern region of the Soviet Union. The Carter administration considered planting nuclear mines in Soviet roadways leading to Iran, according to Epstein. And the Reagan administration, Epstein maintains, has reviewed plans to launch nuclear strikes against targets in the southern Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union, sensitive to Washington's readiness to pull the nuclear trigger, has acted with cautious restraint in the region. But two Soviet commercial ships in the Gulf have been recently attacked by Iranian forces, and if it happens again the Kremlin may feel obliged to retaliate. The U.S., however, may interpret such a strike as a precursor for a full-scale Soviet invasion of Iran and be tempted to flex its nuclear muscle.

Similarly, the Kremlin could interpret any major U.S. assault against Iran as a cover for launching a war against the Soviet Union. Because the U.S. Central Command has nuclear as well as conventional capabilities, any U.S. attack on Iran would greatly exacerbate Soviet security fears. Moreover, the U.S. could do little to allay Soviet suspicions about U.S. intentions because, as Epstein points out, "few of America's forces are not capable of delivering nuclear weaponry of some sort."

Cooler heads: But calls within the Defense and State departments for a massive military strike against Iran have not gained complete support within the Reagan administration, particularly among those policy-makers sensitive to U.S.-Arab political relations. Frank Carlucci, national security adviser, and Robert Oakley, the NSC's Near East and South Asian affairs director, oppose such plans. Joining them is Richard Murphy, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. Cold-War hawks such as Henry Kissinger and Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA) also oppose direct U.S. military involvement in the Gulf. But while cooler heads may prevail this time, the shadow of nuclear war still hangs over the Persian Gulf. □

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INSIDE STORY

"choke point" at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

"But what would happen," asks Fred Axelgard, a fellow at Georgetown's Center for Strategic and International Studies, "if Iran engaged us in low-level action?" Iran recently acquired about 40 small speedboats armed with hand-held, rocket-propelled grenades as well as machine guns. Crewed by Iran's Revolutionary Guards, these speedboats have already attacked oil tankers, killing crewmen and starting fires. Some Mideast observers suspect that zealous Revolutionary Guards sometimes overstep their

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

The freeze movement closes ranks

ON NOVEMBER 20 IN CLEVELAND, THE country's two largest peace organizations, SANE and the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, plan to merge under a single leadership. Peace activists are publicly heralding the merger as a new dawn for the movement, which has been semi-dormant for the past three years. "It could lay the groundwork for a renaissance," says Richard Healey, the executive director of *Nuclear Times*.

But privately some movement leaders express grave reservations about the merger. One Washington activist says, "They have invested an awful lot of time and energy in a process that could produce a whole that is less than the sum of its parts."

Both groups' leaders rest their merger hopes on the fact that the organizations have complementary strengths and weaknesses. The Freeze has always had a strong local presence, but a weak and impoverished national organization. Its initial headquarters in St. Louis was described as a "clearing-house," and at one point the organization had three different and equally ineffectual headquarters in St. Louis, Deerfield, Mass., and Washington, D.C. Until last fall, it did not even have a national membership list.

Many in the Freeze believe they need stronger national organization and leadership, and hope to get it from SANE. SANE was founded in 1957 to lead the battle against atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. In 1977, when David Cortright, a former draft resister, became its director, the organization had only one half-time staff person, 4,000 members and \$40,000 in debts. In 10 years, through the organization's leadership in the MX fight and neighborhood canvassing, Cortright has built SANE into a financially self-sustaining group with 150,000 dues-paying members and 40 staff members.

But SANE's members are organized through mailing lists rather than chapters; they contribute money, but not necessarily time. If the Freeze can use SANE's funding base and national staff, SANE can use what still remains of the Freeze's state and local organizations.

But skeptics believe that both organizations have the kind of disabilities that a merger is unlikely to overcome, and are especially worried about SANE's role in the new organization.

Freeze without the freeze: The Freeze Campaign's problems over the past three years don't stem primarily from its lack of a national leadership. The group has not lacked a leader but an issue like the original freeze idea—now defanged by the administration—that evokes broad popular support. The freeze disarmed opponents by its very simplicity, setting the terms of debate and establishing its proponents as advocates of peace and its opponents as advocates of war. But by calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons, Reagan has been able in the past three years to refocus the national debate on Star Wars.

The Freeze Campaign has never recovered from the debilitation of its key issue. Some chapters have branched out into broader foreign-policy concerns, attacking administration policy on Central America or South Africa, while others have focused on the need for a comprehensive test ban—an issue with

great merit but little apparent resonance with the general public.

In 1982 the Freeze was omnipresent. Now it is simply another political group with a list of issues and a shifting membership. It has strong chapters in New England and the Midwest, but is virtually invisible in places where it used to be very strong. "The Freeze died [when the steam went out of] the freeze proposal," says Barbara Epstein, a historian and leading nuclear arms foe in the Bay Area.

But the freeze still has some punch. Its most important outgrowth is Freeze Voter, a separate organization that mobilizes on behalf of congenial candidates. It played a significant role in electing pro-arms control senators in 1984 and in 1986. Yet its success lay partly in its arm's-length relationship with the Freeze itself. Based in Washington, Freeze Voter developed into a highly centralized and professional operation that was able to deploy the Freeze's network of supporters on behalf of candidates like Illinois' Paul Simon or Colorado's Tim Wirth.

A money-making machine: SANE, on the other hand, is financially healthy, but some arms-control proponents question whether it can provide effective leadership to a new national organization. Since 1984 SANE has been seized by internal upheavals triggered by personnel and political disputes. The upshot is that SANE, which just four years ago was the most respected and feared arms control lobby on Capitol Hill, is now seen as irrelevant. "I hate to say it, but they have no impact," says Robert DeGrasse, an aide to Rep. John Spratt, a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

What occurred in SANE in recent years remains so shrouded in controversy that it is difficult to disentangle facts from opinions. In 1985 a bitter dispute erupted between Cortright and staff members over his promotion of an Hispanic woman with whom he had been linked romantically. Over the next year and a half the organization's principal lobbyists and research director quit. Cortright claims that the real issue was not favoritism but affirmative action: "No one says, 'I am against affirmative action,' so they will justify their feelings on other bases."

At the same time as SANE was losing the people who had run its MX lobby, it was turning away from Capitol Hill. In 1984 Marcus Raskin, co-founder of the Institute for Policy Studies and a prominent '60s anti-war leader, became co-chairman of SANE's board. Raskin says he has pressed SANE to "move beyond an incrementalist view specifically tied to arms control toward a comprehensive disarmament program." Raskin also favored what he calls "mass organizing" over SANE's previous lobbying approach. He draws a contrast between "Washington politics as defined by playing the game within the 40-yard line on both sides against a more grassroots view."

At the height of the MX fight, SANE had two full-time and one half-time lobbyists working on Capitol Hill and a "grassroots lobby network" in congressional districts that could be mobilized to pressure House and Senate members. Now it has a single lobbyist whom it shares with the Freeze and, according to a knowledgeable source, its

grassroots network is "underused and falling apart."

Raskin and Cortright defend the organization's new approach by pointing to its stand on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). In 1985 SANE and its chief SDI lobbyist were working with other arms control lobbyists to cut funding for the program, but SANE's board of directors voted that September not to back funding for the program. A compromise proposal to advocate no funding but to work for reductions was turned down. The board's new position, Raskin says, made the organization "able to lay out a clear position to Congress. Otherwise it is a fog."

But the new position also made it impossible for SANE to play any role in the debate on Capitol Hill. SANE found itself unable to back even Rep. Ron Dellums' proposal to reduce funding to \$1.1 billion for research. "Basically, SANE took itself out of the battle," one House staff member says.

SANE abandoned its focus on lobbying without adopting a new strategy that made sense to some of its key staff. It took strong stands on other foreign policy issues like contra aid without developing an effective program against it. "I didn't have any sense

The country's two largest peace organizations, SANE and the Freeze Campaign, plan to merge next November under a single leadership.

of what we were doing on any level," says Ed Glennon, who resigned as SANE's research director in January 1986. Some people in the Washington arms-control community believe that SANE's principal activity has become raising money for itself. "They've become a money-making machine," says one respected arms control activist.

A new president: According to SANE's Cortright, the idea for a merger came in Geneva in 1985 when he and SANE board member Cora Weiss, director of the River-

side Church Disarmament Project were riding in a taxi with Jane Grunenbaum, who was then the Freeze director. After the leaders returned home, they began formal talks.

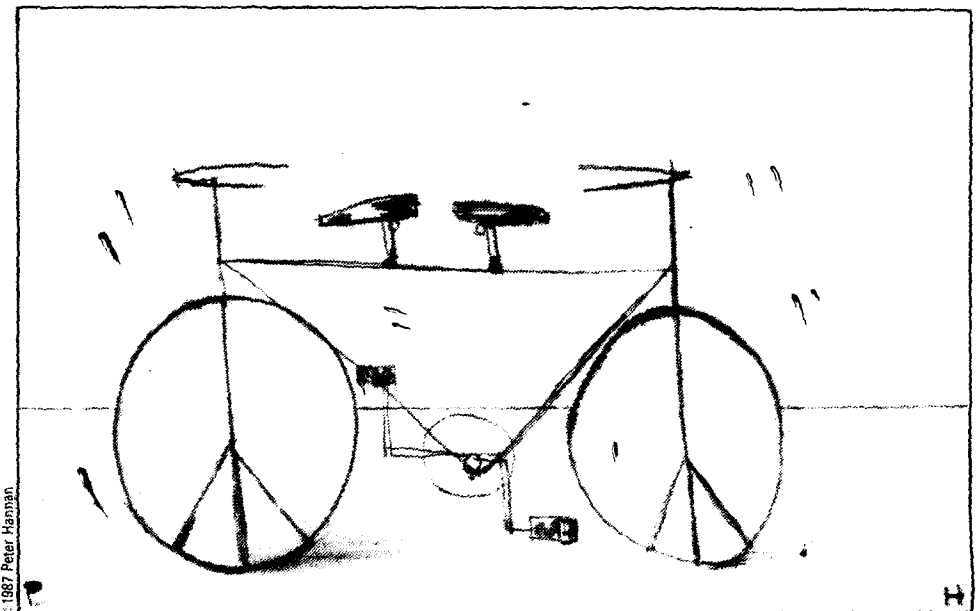
The two organizations have been able to agree on a credo and a complicated structure of chapters and state organizations. Earlier this month they staged a joint action in Washington—a "test-ban caravan" to rally support for banning nuclear tests. But they have had difficulty agreeing on national leadership. Freeze leaders have advocated a strong president for the new organization with authority over the two co-directors, the Freeze's Carolyn Cottom and SANE's Cortright.

Originally, the two groups had planned to name the new president by April, but the decision has been postponed until July. Freeze leaders have pressed the organization to hire former Rep. Bob Edgar. According to knowledgeable sources, SANE has balked at Edgar and is backing Rev. William Sioane Coffin, pastor of Riverside Church in New York and a close associate of Weiss.

One Freeze leader explained the difference this way: "Coffin is operating on a plane of rhetoric. Edgar has been operating more on a plane of how do we deliver results. As a human being, he is always well dressed. Coffin is rumpled. Edgar can talk to a Methodist church or a Republican men's club and get people to listen. Here is a guy who has been elected as a Democrat from a decidedly Republican district. Edgar speaks to the unconverted. Coffin fires up the faithful."

In talking to Freeze and SANE leaders, one also senses a continuing difference in the kind of organization they want. When Raskin describes the political scope of the new organization and its emphasis on "mass organizing," he seems almost to be describing a new '60s-style, left-wing party. When Freeze leaders talk, they are describing a highly diverse and non-partisan organization whose overwhelming focus will remain nuclear arms.

William "Chip" Reynolds, Freeze Voter's director, says, "I happen to believe that there is a very diverse constituency of people who are interested in stopping the nuclear arms race. It does not consist solely of people on the left. We've got to find a way to branch out to that largest and broadest constituency on this one political issue." □



INSHORT

Joel Bleifuss

CIA seed caps

Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY) on a recent tour of contra country in Honduras met a rebel officer wearing an eye-catching baseball cap. Emblazoned above the bill was a pyramid design surrounded by what just must be the Reagan administration's motto—"Admit nothing—Deny everything—Make counteraccusations." The cap-wearing contra told Solarz that his haberdashery was "a special-effects shop in Langley," the CIA's Virginia home.

Wrong founding father

In an address to the American Bar Association earlier this year, Hearst Corp. President Frank Bernack Jr. reported that nearly half of 1,004 Americans surveyed by his organization believed Karl Marx's aphorism "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" was to be found in the U.S. Constitution. Of course, the assembled lawyers all knew that those words come from *The Critique of the Gotha Program*.

Off on a new foot

A project of the Caribbean Commission, an anti-communist organization, is busy helping 61 wounded contras get back on the battlefield by replacing their missing appendages with prostheses, reports Joan Treadway of the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*. Last May, "Freedom Feet and Arms" sent Roy Douglas, LSU orthopedic professor and contra supporter, to Honduras where he measured the stubs of 61 wounded contras, some of whom were teenagers. The new limbs are now being assembled, and Douglas will return to Honduras in August for the final fit and adjustment. Freedom Feet and Arms was inspired by an artificial limb project in Seattle, Wash., that similarly outfitted 200 Salvadoran soldiers.

Three Johns in a boat

John Mirassou, John Bertsch and John Cameron of Southern California have graduated from college. Their education behind them, the youths are now in a 17-foot boat recharging themselves with a 3,700-mile trip along the nation's intercoastal waterways. "Only in America is this doable," the men explain. "Only in a great nation like this could such a trip be accomplished—a group of 24-year-olds traveling without worry about problems of terrorism and civil unrest."

And where would we be then?

The Department of Defense refused to allow the makers of *Amazing Grace and Chuck* (the movie about a Little League pitcher who hangs up his glove to protest nuclear war) to shoot portions of their movie at a nuclear missile site, reports *Newsweek*. Says producer/writer David Field: "They sent us a letter saying that the story concept was counterproductive for the DOD because the success of Chuck's initiative could encourage people to take individual personal action."

Did the CIA bring Nixon down?

A former CIA counterintelligence expert in the Nixon White House, Richard Ober, was the secret "Deep Throat" source who gave the *Washington Post* information about the Watergate scandal, according to author Deborah Davis. Davis makes this allegation in *Katherine the Great*, her recently released book about *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham. The gist of Davis' story is this: The CIA was angry at Richard Nixon because he blamed the agency for the failure of his secret war in Cambodia, when in fact the CIA had advised him against it. Nixon's subsequent attempts "to get political control over the CIA" heightened agency fury. Consequently the CIA leaked the Watergate story to the *Post* to bring down the Nixon government and thus protect itself. At the time of the Watergate break-in and subsequent cover-up, Ober was the director of a secret domestic counterintelligence operation known as "Chaos." And Ober was a Harvard classmate of the *Post*'s executive editor Ben Bradlee, according to Davis. *Washington* talk has long had it that it was Bradlee, and not Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, who heard the Watergate story first. If Davis' thesis is true, it lends itself to further speculation. How did the CIA feel about Jimmy Carter's house-cleaning of the agency? What might agency malcontents have done to cripple the Carter presidency?



The greening of Switzerland

Is that bastion of political conservatism and male dominance, Switzerland, succumbing to the forces of change? Crumbling at its very foundation? Not really, but spectacular successes of local Green parties and of women candidates in recent cantonal (state) and local elections point to a greening of Switzerland and could foreshadow impressive gains for the ecological movement in the October 18 national elections.

On April 5, in the canton of Zurich, politically and economically the Swiss confederation's most important state, the Green Party scored what the press has dubbed a "landslide" victory. It more than quintupled its seats in the parliament. The Greens gained their seats at the expense of the conservative "bourgeois" parties, while the Social Democrats maintained their strength. The Green Party, with 22 seats, is now the fourth-largest party in Zurich's parliament. Together with the Social Democratic Party and a number of smaller parties the Greens now effectively balance the strength of the conservative parties, while on ecological issues there may even be a "green" majority.

The Greens also made gains on April 12 in the city of Geneva, doubling their votes and becoming the third-largest party in Geneva's city council. And in the elections to the city's executive council, a woman, the Social Democrats' Jacqueline Burnand, was elected for

the first time. Newspaper commentators in the *Romandie*, French-speaking Switzerland, called it the "green wave" and were unanimous in tracing its causes to the various ecological catastrophes of recent times: Chernobyl, "Chernobâle" (the catastrophic Sandoz fire in Basel that killed off most of the fish in the Rhine), the death of Swiss forests and the constant traffic jams on Swiss highways.

In the canton of Lucerne, statewide elections on May 3 produced a similar pattern: gains for the Greens from a candidate list composed purely of women, and a woman elected for the first time to the seven-person state executive. Likewise, Greens gained in municipal elections in the canton of Thurgau last year. Indeed, in the last two years Green parties have gained 77 seats in Swiss state elections while the governing parties (the conservative parties and in some cases the Social Democratic Party) have lost 124 seats, though they remain the strongest parties.

While the governing conservative bloc has thus lost seats to the Greens, two far-right parties—the *Vigilants* in Geneva and the *Nationale Aktion* (NA) in Allemanic Switzerland—have also made progress, albeit less than the Greens. But interestingly, the NA also criticizes the corporate-industrial culture that has ravaged the Swiss environment and patrimony.

Rolf Wespe, writing in *Tages-Anzeiger*, says "[The Swiss] are in an ecological and orientational crisis. He adds that this crisis is a product of the enormous changes the booming Swiss economy has

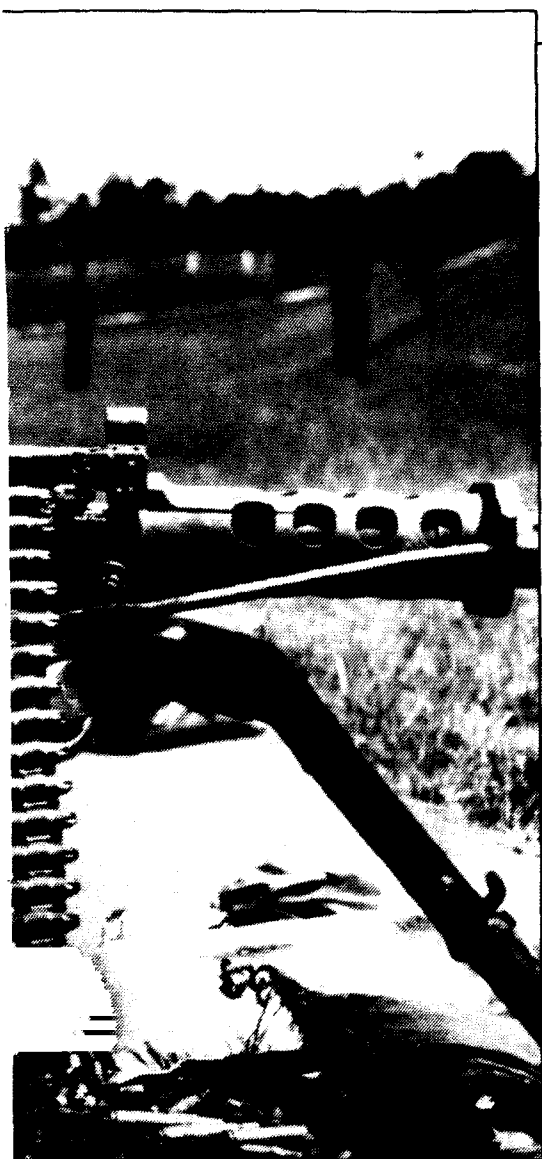
wrought on the once-pastoral landscape and lifestyle in this deeply conservative country. How deep that crisis runs was revealed on April 26 when the voters of the five original cantons of central Switzerland decisively rejected proposed state expenditures for a planned national exhibition in 1991 to commemorate Switzerland's 700th anniversary.

That rejection came as a shock to Switzerland's political elite. These five cantons are the most conservative, patriotic, Catholic and male-dominated states in Switzerland. The governing conservative parties in each of these five cantons had approved expenditures for the septcentennial anniversary exhibition. Moreover, the political establishment and press portrayed the opponents of the exhibition—left and green minority parties—as closet communists, opponents of the hallowed Swiss Army and immoral elements bent on destroying the Swiss way of life.

But this massive propaganda campaign came to naught. The green-left coalition argued that the exhibition would overly tax the environment in the five mountainous cantons, would bring traffic chaos and would, in effect, denigrate rather than celebrate Switzerland. What was needed, the coalition argued, was not a continuation of the public policies that had wreaked havoc on the Swiss environment, but a decisive break with them.

That the conservative burghers of the five cantons obviously agreed with the Green-left coalition is an ominous sign for the Swiss political establishment.

—Reto Pieth



Pat Casey Daley

Our best defense: Heather Harvey, age 3, of Mt. Juliet, Tenn., fires a 50-caliber machine gun under the supervision of a Tennessee National Guardsman at last May's Salute to Armed Forces Day in Nashville. "Just call her a Ramboette," father Phil tells *In These Times*. He says Heather "had a blast." Contrary to some reports (see *In These Times*, June 10), there were no protesters present, according to Phil Harvey. But "there were reporters there from the local news and they were trying to make something of it." Heather had gone to the military exposition with her mother Juanita. Harvey says he thought his wife would "be dead-set against it. But she blew me away on the news that night. She said it was well supervised and thought it was okay. So women are coming around these days—you know, to a different way of thinking." There was, however, a letter of protest from a Baptist minister published in the local paper. Harvey says he was going to respond but decided not to. Had he done so, he says, he would have said: "...a strong defense is the best offense. I work for a government contractor and we make weapons [the B-1 bomber]. If we did not have them we would be standing in the bread line waiting to get a ration of food. Besides, go back to biblical times. Jason wiped out a whole army with the jaw-bone of an ass. The Bible is extremely violent. The Jews fought their way through the wilderness for 40 years. There were wars going on constantly over there, and there still are. So, we need that kind of stuff."

Grenada's governing party comes undone

"The Sinking Ship" is a popular calypso on the airwaves in Grenada. The song reflects the concern of the people of this tiny, three-island nation of less than 100,000 people about the stability of its U.S.-backed government. Three prominent government officials resigned from the cabinet of Prime Minister Herbert Blaize in mid-April following a year of power struggles, refined name-calling and disputes over how to attract local and foreign investment.

Attorney General and Minister of Labor Francis Alexis and Minister of Agriculture and Education George Brizan both resigned, along with a ministerial secretary, Tillman Thomas. In quitting they cited the prime minister's implementation of a plan to lay off 1,800 civil servants, an unresolved salary dispute between the government and unions representing 3,000 teachers and technical workers and the high level of unemployment.

Grenada is currently governed by a 15-member parliament elected in December 1984, a year after the U.S. invaded the country under the pretext of rescuing 800 students following the murder of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, head of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG).

Fourteen seats are held by the New National Party (NNP), a merger of three center and right-of-center parties, headed by Blaize,

Brizan and Alexis. The alliance was forged at a Grenadine resort just months prior to the election under pressure from pro-U.S. Caribbean leaders.

Blaize was the leader for 30 years of one of the parties that represented the landed aristocracy. The party had a record of low taxation of the wealthy and repression of strikes. Alexis, a law professor in Barbados, had lived outside the country for 15 years and returned to Grenada after the invasion to head an emigré party organized in Washington while the PRG was still in power. Brizan, an educator and member of the PRG, led the third party, organized after the invasion to appeal to young intellectuals.

The NNP won easily with the financial support and military presence of the U.S., which was eager to ensure that former Prime Minister Eric Gairy, whose corrupt 12-year rule was overthrown by the PRG, did not return to power.

Since 1983, the U.S. has given Grenada more than \$73 million to finish its international airport, repave roads, build factory shells and return the economy to the private sector. While there have been some increases in agricultural production and tourism, there have also been increases in crime, drugs, prostitution and unemployment—now standing at 25-49 percent, depending on whose figures you believe.

Both the prime minister and his opponents blame the situation on the difficulties of attracting investment in light industries, which they emphasize as the solution to

economic and social problems. The political leaders pay less attention to the fact that there are still not enough large hotels to accommodate the tourists that jumbo jets could bring into the new airport.

Blaize insists that Grenada doesn't have the funds to "create the atmosphere" that would attract investors, because he inherited an overstuffed civil service that eats up 60 percent of the national budget. The only way he sees to increase revenue is to lay off half the government work force.

Alexis and Brizan are holding rallies around Grenada charging that the deficit is the result of Blaize's fiscal mismanagement. While not objecting to trimming the bureaucracy per se, the two object to the layoffs because the private sector is unable to absorb the government workers. Alexis and Brizan contend that revenue would be available for development if the government would reform its tax program. Blaize lacked vision, they say, in abolishing income tax for the rich as well as the poor, in revising business levies so they now generate 75 percent less income, and in making a value-added tax on consumer goods and services the mainstay of his program.

The layoffs and the possibility of a major strike on top of the high unemployment, Alexis and Brizan predict, will create an unstable situation in which "Grenadians who can't find work during the day will go about at night looking for ways to feed themselves."

—Peggy Seeger

A wistful dictator

This is for those who forget that behind Reagan's persona of the affable buffoon lurks a nasty authoritarian. After the 1980 election Ronald Reagan met with outgoing President Jimmy Carter for an Oval Office briefing on 20 super-sensitive foreign policy issues. Carter believed the new president should be familiar with. Carter wrote in *Keeping Faith—Memoirs of a President*, that throughout their hour-long meeting Reagan took no notes and spoke nary a word—that is, until talk turned to South Korea. Carter thanked Reagan for urging President Chun Doo Hwan to spare the life of opposition leader Kim Dae Jung. Writes Carter, "At that point, Gov. Reagan made his first real comment. He expressed with some enthusiasm his envy of the authority that Korean President Park Chung Hee had exercised during a time of campus unrest, when he had closed the universities and drafted demonstrators." Park Chung Hee came to power in a 1961 military coup. In the following years he built, with the help of emergency decrees and an acquiescent U.S., what is today one of the world's most efficient police states. Park ruled as dictator until he was assassinated in 1979 by Korean Central Intelligence Agency Director Kim Jae Kyu. Current President Chun Doo Hwan, who at that time was Park's director of military intelligence, then stepped into the dead president's shoes with prescient speed.

Preview of the "Tear-Gas" Olympics

On June 10 South Korean TV viewers got a glimpse of what the 1988 Olympics might look like. During a soccer game between Egypt and Korea, tear gas from a nearby student demonstration wafted onto the playing field. The game was consequently called, and 30,000 riotous spectators stormed out of the stadium into the streets. And before state censors could get the right buttons pushed, armchair fans at home were treated to the sight of soccer players retching on the benches. Yes, the tracks at the '88 Olympics could get a mite slippery.

Rainforests deserve a break today

Each day 75,000 acres of the earth's tropical rainforest are cut down, writes Ellen Hosmer in the June *Multinational Monitor*. In a year that adds up to the disappearance of 27 million acres of forest, an area the size of Pennsylvania. To help preserve the world's remaining tropical rainforests, Earth First!, the California-based environmental group, is asking people to boycott fast-food restaurants. In Central America, beef suppliers for many U.S. fast food franchises have been using slash-and-burn methods to convert tropical rainforests into grazing land (see *In These Times*, June 10). Explains Earth First!er Karen Pickett, "A four-ounce hamburger is the equivalent of a 55-foot square parcel of forest—each of which includes 20 to 30 separate tree species, two pounds of insects and hundreds of different types of fungi and other microorganisms." Many folks will find that fact hard to swallow.

Solzhenitsyn and the Central Committee

Will Nobel prize-winning novelist and Soviet dissident Alexander Solzhenitsyn soon return home? Friends of Soviet dissident Alexander Podrobneck told the French-based emigré newspaper *Russkya Mysl* that on March 5 Podrobneck wrote to the Soviet leadership asking that Solzhenitsyn's work now be published. In early May Podrobneck was contacted by a Party official who said he was empowered by the Communist Party's Central Committee to inform him [Podrobneck] that the committee considers Solzhenitsyn's return and the restoration of his citizenship a very important matter that is now being discussed.

Stung

Last fall the Reagan administration chose to bestow its ultra-sophisticated "stinger" anti-aircraft missiles on what French observers consider the "craziest" of the nine anti-Soviet guerrilla groups operating in Afghanistan, the Hezb-i Islami led by Hekmatyar Gulbuddin. Last December *In These Times* noted that this represented a threat to civil aviation. On June 11 the inevitable happened: the Hezb-i Islami shot down a civilian airliner near Shahjot airport in southern Afghanistan, killing 53 passenger, including 10 women and several children. The Hezb-i Islami, Moslem fundamentalists who despise Western modernity, apparently mistook the airliner for a military plane.



Teamsters: Should feds oust mob?

By David Moberg

HOW CAN ORGANIZED CRIME BEST BE driven out of the Teamsters union? That old question gains urgency with new evidence of mob influence and with the Justice Department's tentative plans to file a civil lawsuit to put the entire 1.6 million-member union under control of a court-appointed trustee.

Union reformers, both in and outside of the Teamsters, strongly support members' direct election of leaders both to get rid of mob-linked officials and to improve the union. But they are divided over exactly what role the federal government should play. Yet some union apologists denounce any form of government intervention, except for individual criminal prosecution of corrupt officials, as unwarranted and anti-labor interference.

In the current trial of Anthony Salerno and 11 other alleged Genovese family organized crime leaders in New York, former Teamsters President Roy Williams, now in prison on a bribery conviction, testified on videotape that he had been Kansas City mob boss Nick Civella's "boy" for years after Civella had threatened him and his family. From 1974 until his election as president in 1981, Williams admitted he received \$1,500 a month from Civella for helping arrange a loan from the Central States Pension Fund—later reorganized by the courts—to purchase a Las Vegas hotel. Then, Williams said, Civella pushed him to run for president and asked friends around the country to back him.

Mob's choice: Former Cleveland mob underboss Angelo Lonardo also testified that he and Maishe Rockman, a syndicate figure identified by ex-mobster Aladena "Jimmy" Fratianno as the man who controls current Teamster President Jackie Presser, visited top Chicago organized crime figures to line up support for Williams as president. Then Rockman and John Tronolone elicited support from New York boss Anthony Salerno. Lonardo said that in 1982 they went through the same procedure to get support for Presser. Two Presser supporters on the union's general executive board have since been convicted of racketeering or taking employer

payoffs. Fratianno, Williams and Lonardo all testified that Presser had close ties to organized crime, and 1984 wiretap recordings of Salerno include numerous references to Presser.

In an important step against the mob, a federal judge in 1985 imposed a trustee on the 10,000-member New Jersey Local 560,

LABOR

the notorious empire of the three Provenzano brothers, reputed syndicate members now jailed on charges of murdering a union political opponent, skimming union pension funds and taking employer payoffs. For more than three decades Teamsters officials were aware of complaints about this local but did nothing about it and elevated its leaders to national power. This trusteeship, along with trusteeships imposed on two New York Cement Workers unions affiliated with the Laborers, set the legal precedent for the federal government to take control of the Teamsters on the grounds that top officials have either been involved in racketeering or did nothing to eliminate it.

Presser still faces federal criminal charges of maintaining three "ghost payrollers" at his Cleveland home local at a cost of \$700,000, and a civil suit from individual Teamsters to recover the money and damages. The civil suit is now being amended to seek damages by the lead plaintiff, who was threatened by a Presser ally and then lost his job.

Democratic Teamsters: Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), the 10-year-old union reform group whose members have won more than 50 local union offices, including a stunning sweep last December in New York Local 138, has a mixed reaction to the Justice proposal. Last April they strongly urged the Justice Department to seek reorganization of the Teamsters under anti-racketeering laws. But they argued it should be done in a way consistent with the goals of labor laws to strengthen union democracy.

TDU argued that the entire union had not suffered the degree of intimidation typical in Provenzano's local, and that a comprehensive trusteeship could weaken the union. The

government would also face the difficult task of identifying and removing every local official with mob ties. Otherwise, corrupt local officials would continue to select the new president under existing election rules, which provide for a convention delegate ballot for top officers.

So TDU proposes changing the Teamsters the way the United Mine Workers reformed after Tony Boyle's corrupt leadership. It wants two or three consecutive government-supervised, rank-and-file elections, including manageable-sized regional elections, guaranteeing all candidates union-paid mailings of campaign material and free access to Teamsters publications.

"The main thing is: who's the agent to change the union?" says TDU organizer Ken Paff. "The answer is: the members. You can't say the union is a racketeer-controlled organization and that the agent for change is the hierarchy." Paff argues that the experience of reformers in locals like New York Local 138 demonstrates that an organized rank-and-file can throw out even mob-related leaders. However turbulent, the Mineworkers' recent history shows how democracy can thrive in a once-corrupt union. "It's time to give the Teamsters rank and file the chance to do the same job," he argues.

Lukewarm reaction: Local Teamsters leaders who are not affiliated with TDU but have, like TDU, fought for direct membership vote on top officials seem to favor elections and are even more suspicious of any trusteeship than the reform organization. They also tended to avoid commenting on whether they thought the union was mob-controlled. Asked about Williams' testimony, one said, "Williams? Never heard of him." Sam Theodus, president of Local 407 in Cleveland, who challenged Presser at the last convention, asked, "How's the government going to run the Teamsters when they've got their own problems? [When I ran against Presser] I said I was tired of being put into a classification as a thief, crook and mobster. I thought the only way to change that image was to have the rank and file elect all officials. Then nobody could ever say the mob put them in there."

"In any organization, any industry, there

is always the criminal element," says Ron Carey, president of New York Local 804. "I don't think that gives the Justice Department the right to render down a trusteeship. But I'm delighted if it will shake the tree loose of some of the criminal element."

Victor Kamber, a public-relations agent for several unions, including the Laborers, adamantly attacked the trusteeship in a *New York Times* op-ed piece as unconstitutional, impractical and unjustified. But University of Pittsburgh law professor Michael Goldberg says, "the government has the legal authority [to impose the trusteeship] if they can prove their allegations that the union is a mob-dominated enterprise. But in my opinion that's justified only as a last resort." Although he favors the less drastic TDU election alternatives, he admits, "Maybe the level of mob domination and intimidation is too great. But give democracy a chance."

Tough action: However, Herman Benson, director of the Association for Union Democracy, considers trusteeship a "regrettable necessity. After all these years of racket domination in a union where you can get killed for being in opposition, it's the responsibility of government to step in and restore conditions for democratic control. I don't look on trusteeship as a solution but as a way of getting a solution." It would take "years [of trusteeship] to restore the confidence of members and local leaders that a real change is possible." In the Local 560 trusteeship, for example, the judge replaced his first trustee for failing to remove enough of the old mob-tainted leadership, who organized Teamsters for Liberty to fight the trusteeship and send a warning to any would-be reformers that they intended to be back in power soon.

With such a huge, diverse union and a relatively small, if effective, opposition group like TDU, Benson worries that the election would lead to victory and legitimization of the incumbents, not a new, more democratic leadership as in the Mineworkers. Something drastic must be done: a three-member monitor board appointed as a result of a members' lawsuit when Hoffa took power was weak and ineffective from 1957 to 1961. "While government control for a period has dangers, the dangers of racketeer control are far greater," Benson says, "and you have more recourse against the misdeeds of a trustee than against the racketeer."

There is a popular myth that the mob gained influence in the Teamsters because it offered the union muscle in strikes and organizing. But both Benson and Paff said mob influence grew because of the nature of the localized, big-city industries Teamsters organized, such as liquor distribution, local cartage and food services. Many of these industries were mob-influenced or corrupt, and Teamster officials were tempted into sweetheart contracts or payoffs. A crucial turning point came in 1944, Benson says, when the Roosevelt administration rewarded Dan Tobin, a key New Deal backer, with Smith Act trials against the Socialist Worker leadership of the militant Minneapolis trucker local, eliminating an impediment to bureaucratic, corrupt unionism.

"I think that organized crime was filtered into the Teamsters union a long time before I came there," Roy Williams testified. "And it'll be there a long time after I'm gone." Maybe it's time to see what Teamster members have to say. □

By J.Z. Grover

AIDS, ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME, has killed more than 21,000 Americans since the federal Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta began keeping track of it in 1981. Of that number, 74 percent have been gay and bisexual men, a statistic the media uses to justify its continuing classification of AIDS as a "gay disease," despite the fact that the fastest-growing incidence of AIDS is among heterosexual drug users and their sex partners.

And since 1982, when New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Atlanta gay organizations established agencies to deal with a health crisis that many government agencies and hospitals refused to address, independent AIDS service organizations and care-providers—many, if not most of them, gay men and lesbians—have been the primary source of information, services and resources for persons with AIDS.

To these social service and health-care workers, the disease represents a complex tangle of political, medical, ethical, legal, economic, racial, gender and class issues that must be addressed through collective action. Meanwhile, the Reagan administration—along with most state and local governments—is now, after six years of silence, beginning to react to AIDS primarily as a moral issue best dealt with through containment.

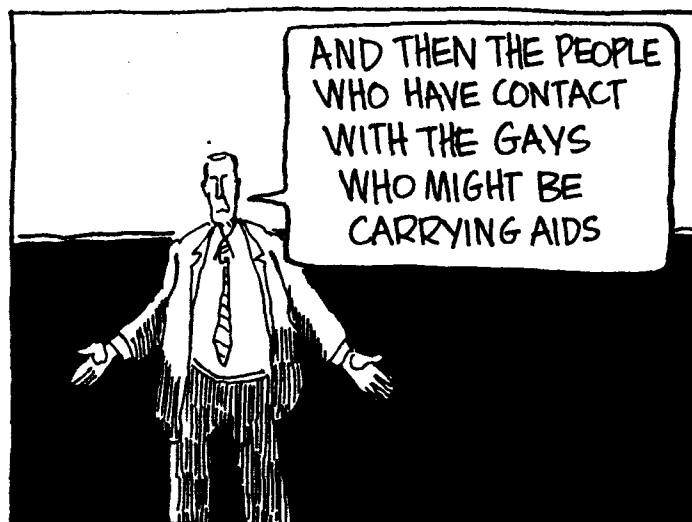
Ronald Reagan's announcement last month of "routine" (later clarified to mean "mandatory") testing for federal prisoners and for aliens, immigrants and refugees seeking U.S. residency status was the president's first pronouncement on AIDS. After years of lobbying for federal action to fight the disease, AIDS support groups, along with public health workers and officials, now find their expertise on how to fight the disease being ignored in favor of politically motivated and short-sighted actions.

Routine discrimination: At the National Lesbian and Gay Health Foundation Conference preceding Reagan's announcement of testing procedures, community/health workers and health providers called for strictly anonymous blood testing. Anonymity controls would provide surveillance data on the incidence of seropositivity without identifying seropositive people by name and address. (Seropositivity, a positive response to the AIDS antibody test, indicates probable infection with the virus HIV—Human Immunodeficiency Virus—also known as HTLV-III/LAV. Authorities estimate that 20-30 percent of those infected with HIV will develop AIDS within five years.)

Most health officials, including those at the CDC, support confidential testing, which provides more information for epidemiologists and health officers by breaking down seropositive incidence into population groups—sex, age, ethnic group, transmission category (homosexual/bisexual, transfusions, IV drug use, etc.).

In the absence of anti-discrimination protections for gays and lesbians on the federal and most state levels, the dividing line on anonymous versus confidential testing is drawn around civil rights issues. According to Nan Hunter of the ACLU's Lesbian/Gay Task Force, "We are now being treated as the barriers to public health, as raising nettlesome civil-liberties issues."

Hunter and others point out that confidentiality can easily be breached with disastrous consequences to the individual identified as



Reagan ignores expert advice in war on AIDS

seropositive. U.S. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop raised this problem in congressional testimony before Reagan's announcement on testing. Other high-visibility members of the Reagan administration—notably Vice President George Bush, Attorney General

MEDICINE

Edwin Meese and Education Secretary William Bennett—called for mandatory, confidential testing of a wide variety of U.S. citizens and immigrants.

The federal follies: The administration's mandated testing is expected to be wildly costly. Widespread screening of low-risk populations, such as immigrants, will net more false-positives than false-negatives. The initial test costs on average \$4 to \$10 and the confirming test costs \$70.

Before Lyndon LaRouche's California AIDS ballot initiative was voted on last year, the state legislature commissioned the University of California at Berkeley to produce cost estimates for screening and containment of HIV positive people. The university estimated the cost would equal one-quarter of the state's annual budget. It would likely be no less costly to enact such measures at the national level.

Government spending on AIDS has so far gone primarily into basic research. The National Institutes of Health (NIH), National Cancer Institute and National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, as well as private pharmaceutical companies, have focused their attention on studies designed to lead to a vaccine—a marketable form of prevention.

Optimism over Congress' move (overriding the Reagan administration's resistance)

to fund the National Academy of Sciences' recommended billion-dollar 1990 AIDS budget must be tempered by fears about NIH's own priorities, which have been aimed at long-term basic research.

Attention directed to treatment for the already-infected has been far more scattered. Under existing NIH processes, the majority of research funds are spent in-house rather than on investigator-initiated studies. And NIH-initiated studies are for the most part focused on antiviral therapies and possible vaccine development rather than on treatment of the opportunistic infections that actually kill persons with AIDS.

Government funding for treatment and support for persons with AIDS is spotty and grossly inadequate. Medicaid entitlements

The administration's mandated testing is expected to be wildly costly.

require a person with AIDS to wait two years to begin receiving medical benefits, a macabre joke for someone whose life-expectancy after diagnosis is 10-20 months. (This depends on the opportunistic disease present in the AIDS diagnosis: for the 13 percent contracting Kaposi's sarcoma, a cancer of the blood-vessel walls, the average life-expectancy is 20 months; but for the 65 percent contracting *pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia it is 10 months and for the 22 percent initially contracting other opportunistic infections it is about six months. These time-frames are averages; for many it is less. More than half

the people diagnosed in 1986 are already dead.)

AIDS patients qualify for Social Security disability benefits when they can no longer work. But with the three months' processing time, many of the diagnosed do not outlive the waiting game.

The Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) role is to monitor tests of drugs developed for AIDS care and to approve ones that are effective, as it did last year in the case of Burroughs Wellcome's AZT (called Retrovir). Clinical trials of new drugs are conducted under contract with the NIH by the patent-holder or licensee in the private sector.

As the National Academy of Sciences pointed out in its recent critique of this process, the private producer's need to recover research-and-development costs and to make profit from the sale of new drugs is often at odds with the public good. This was clearly the case when Burroughs Wellcome recently refused to make AZT available to another drug company for comparison trials. If the new competitor proved effective, the market value of Retrovir would plummet before revenues roll in—currently anticipated at \$7,000 to \$10,000 per patient per year.

In the increasingly glaring absence of federal health insurance roughly 35 percent of privately insured AIDS sufferers are simply going to be out of luck for high-ticket drugs like AZT. Ironically, the medically indigent will receive their costly AZT, because Burroughs-Wellcome has successfully lobbied state insurers such as California's MediCal to put AZT on its list of reimbursable drugs. About 65 percent of all privately insured patients are also reimbursed for drug costs; Burroughs Wellcome has visited them, too. But patients with health plans lacking drug benefits may very well bankrupt themselves paying for the only FDA-approved drug of even limited anti-HIV efficacy.

What's in a name? Even before the routine/mandatory testing dispute, the language used to define and describe the many com-

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AIDS

Continued from page 7

ponents of AIDS has been an issue. AIDS itself is not a disease so much as it is a description of a cluster of conditions. The CDC carefully defined AIDS in 1982 to include a limited number of the opportunistic diseases and infections occurring in persons with acquired immunodeficiency (later found to be caused by the "AIDS virus," HIV).

The CDC definition excluded an additional array of conditions now known as AIDS-related complex (ARC). Among seropositive people, the incidence of ARC is estimated to be two to five times higher than that of AIDS. There are currently approximately 15,000 persons with AIDS in the U.S., and approxi-

mately 100,000-300,000 persons with ARC. Few of the latter qualify for federal assistance, although their conditions are frequently as debilitating and mortal as full-blown AIDS. (New guidelines have been published by the CDC, redefining two of the most severe forms of ARC as AIDS to qualify sufferers for federal assistance.)

Throughout scientific, medical and media reporting on AIDS the pitfalls of language stand out as an issue of critical importance. Jeffrey Levi of the National Lesbian and Gay Task Force points out that terms such as "life-threatening" and "serious illness" are critical but ambiguous. How and by whom they get defined is a political issue.

"Risk group" is another highly charged term. Useful in epidemiological research, the

concept sorts out cases of disease by shared characteristics, both biologic (age, sex, race, etc.) and environmental (geography, place and kind of work, etc.).

The object of such sorting is to predict where the disease is most likely to break out in order to intervene. Such intervention has been successful when the cause of the disease is isolatable and containable, as in cases of cholera, typhoid or a cluster of food-poisoning. But with AIDS, the identification of factors in HIV's transmission—sex with a seropositive person, sharing IV drug apparatus with a seropositive person, receiving transfused blood from a seropositive person—has been employed as far more than a tool for possible epidemiological use.

Public fear of AIDS has led many medical,

legislative and social authorities to uncritically lump specific behaviors that can lead to AIDS onto entire communities who are thereafter identified as "risk groups." They are seen as public health threats and are then treated as such.

The discourse surrounding AIDS, not surprisingly, plays well into reactionary agendas already set up around class, race and sexuality. Like Nancy Reagan's reductive solution to drug abuse, Reagan, Bush, Bennett *et al.* see the demographics of the spread of AIDS as evidence that all you have to do to prevent AIDS is "just say no" to sexual expression. □

J.Z. Grover works at San Francisco General Hospital in the Division of AIDS Activities and is a volunteer for the Shanti Project.

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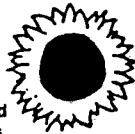
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By Salim Muwakkil

ISLAH THOMAS, THE NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION's (NBA) premier point guard, has decided for now to shut up about sports and race. Stunned by a blizzard of negative publicity he received after his comments about basketball rival Larry Bird, Thomas at first tried to shift the public focus from his teasing jibes to a larger examination of racial stereotyping. The mainstream media, however, has preferred to characterize the comments of Thomas and his Detroit Piston teammate Dennis Rodman as the flip side of Al Campanis' infamous "blacks...don't have the necessities" gaffe.

According to associates, Thomas was badly shaken by what he felt was a deliberate attempt to cast him as a villainous reverse racist. One confidant said he "plans to more comprehensively address the larger issue" of racism in sports at a later date.

"Isiah was badly burned in this Campanis backlash and it was very unfair," said George Andrews, Thomas' agent and attorney. "He was badly misinterpreted and he's held two press conferences, one of which Larry Bird attended, and an interview on national television to rectify matters. That's about all he can do. Isiah is certainly no racist; he was just kidding a friend."

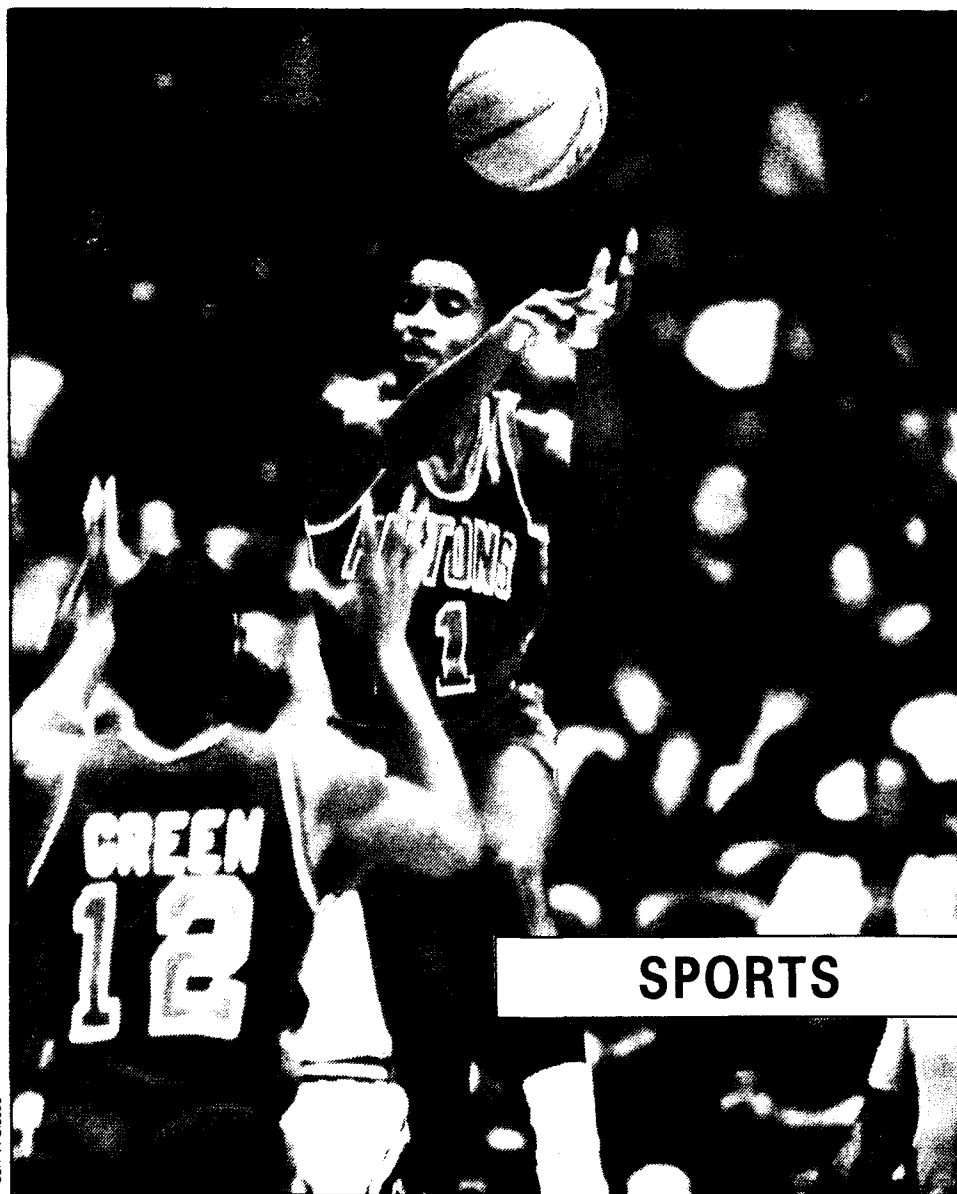
What actually happened? Following the Pistons' loss to the Boston Celtics in the NBA's Eastern Conference finals, Thomas was quoted as agreeing with teammate Rodman that Bird was overrated and that the Celtic star's status is due to his race. "I think Larry is a very good basketball player, an exceptional talent," Thomas said in a tape recording of the incident. "But I'd have to agree with Rodman, if Bird was black he'd be just another good guy."

Hundreds of sports writers and commentators in broadcast media pounced on these "sour grapes" comments with an intensity usually reserved for major political scandals. And since the sports beat is the metaphor capital of contemporary journalism, lurid and hyperbolic denunciations of Thomas and Rodman were issued by jock-watchers—a vast majority of whom are white—from across the country.

"It was much ado about nothing," said Kenny McReynolds, sports director for radio station WBMX-FM, an occasional columnist for the *Chicago Sun-Times* and a former assistant coach at DePaul University, echoing the current official line on Thomas' comments. "It was said during the heat of the battle. Isiah said it was a joke and has apologized if he unintentionally hurt anyone's feelings, and Bird has accepted his friend's interpretation of events. The end. Controversy over." McReynolds, who is black, was critical of the amount of negative press the two Pistons' remarks provoked. "Maybe if we had more black people in sports writing and broadcasting, the tendency to misinterpret certain things wouldn't be so pronounced," he said.

One white sports writer, Ira Berkow of the *New York Times*, allowed Thomas to expand on the gist of his comments. Thomas told Berkow that he wasn't referring to Larry Bird specifically, but about the perpetuation of stereotypes about blacks.

"When Bird makes a great play, it's due to his thinking and his work habits. It's all planned out by him. It's not the case for blacks," Thomas charged. "All we do is run and jump. We never practice or give a thought to how we play. It's like I came dribbling out of my mother's womb."



Carl V. Sissac

Isiah Thomas' comments on white star Larry Bird have shaken the NBA.

SPORTS

Off-the-court games and unwritten rules of race

Thomas said the word "athlete" has become a racial codeword. "Magic and Michael Jordan and me, for example, we're playing only on God-given talent, like we're animals, lions and tigers who run around wild in the jungle, while Larry's success is due to intelligence and hard work. Blacks have been fighting that stereotype about playing on pure instinct for so long, and basically it still exists—regardless of whether people want to believe it or not."

Blacks and buoyancy: In some ways, Thomas' comments are refractions of Campanis' fateful words. When the former baseball executive told *Nightline*'s Ted Koppel that blacks were not as buoyant as whites, he expressed a deep-seated cultural notion so casually assumed and presupposed that Campanis didn't even realize it was a gaffe. His presumptions are the standard in his field and are so widely held as to seem obvious. A glance at statistics spells out Campanis' attitude in black and white.

In 1987 major league baseball is 25 percent black, including black Latin players. Only 17 of 879 front-office jobs are held by blacks. But racial stereotyping doesn't start at the management level. According to Richard Lapchick, director of Northeastern University's Central for the Study of Sport in Society, racial stereotypes pervade athletics at all levels.

When baseball managers at college and professional levels were surveyed about characteristics they seek in players at different positions, it was revealed that in pitchers, catchers, second basemen, shortstops and

third basemen they look for the ability to think, make decisions and be team leaders.

"Of the major league pitchers, 88 percent are white," Lapchick reported. "The catching position is even more pronounced, with 91 percent of them white, no black Americans and nine percent Latin. The percentage of white third basemen is 85 percent, for second basemen it is 63 percent and for

The phenomenon of Larry Bird is an emotional issue among many black sports fans. While he is widely recognized as one of the NBA's best players, many blacks are suspicious of his value as a great white hope.

shortstops it is 54 percent. Thus the 'thinking positions' central to the game itself are dominated by whites."

Lapchick said the same managers and coaches are looking for outfields and first basemen with speed and reactive ability—read: athletes. "A staggering 82 percent of all blacks playing offensive positions in the majors play either first base or outfield." Campanis' ideas on blacks and buoyancy

may have helped sink his career, but those views are still afloat.

What's more, there is an element of truth in this crude understanding of racial physiology. There is a consensus among physical anthropologists that there are quantifiable, though minor, differences between the physiological characteristics of blacks and whites. To pretend such differences do not exist is disingenuous. On the other hand, acknowledging racial differences in a society that has yet to transcend its racist heritage is a risky enterprise. And in a culture that traditionally has precluded participation in certain social activities because of a presumed racial inferiority, the question of whether racial differences are innate or cultural is moot.

Just as Campanis' slip of the tongue upped the tempo of racial reform in major league baseball—resulting already in the bombshell appointment of Dr. Harry Edwards, one of the most articulate critics of racism in sports, as a consultant on the recruitment of blacks and Hispanics into every aspect of baseball—perhaps Thomas' comments will aid the process in other arenas. The most obvious need is in the media. A black sports writer would have understood better the context of Rodman's and Thomas' remarks.

The phenomenon of Larry Bird is an emotional issue among many black sports fans. While he is widely recognized as a superior player, many blacks are suspicious of his value as a great white hope. "Whenever black people begin excelling in something, white folks begin a feverish search for someone white who's better," explained Ferman Beckless, sports columnist for the black-owned *Chicago Metro News*. "Black folks are simply getting tired of having to always deal with that."

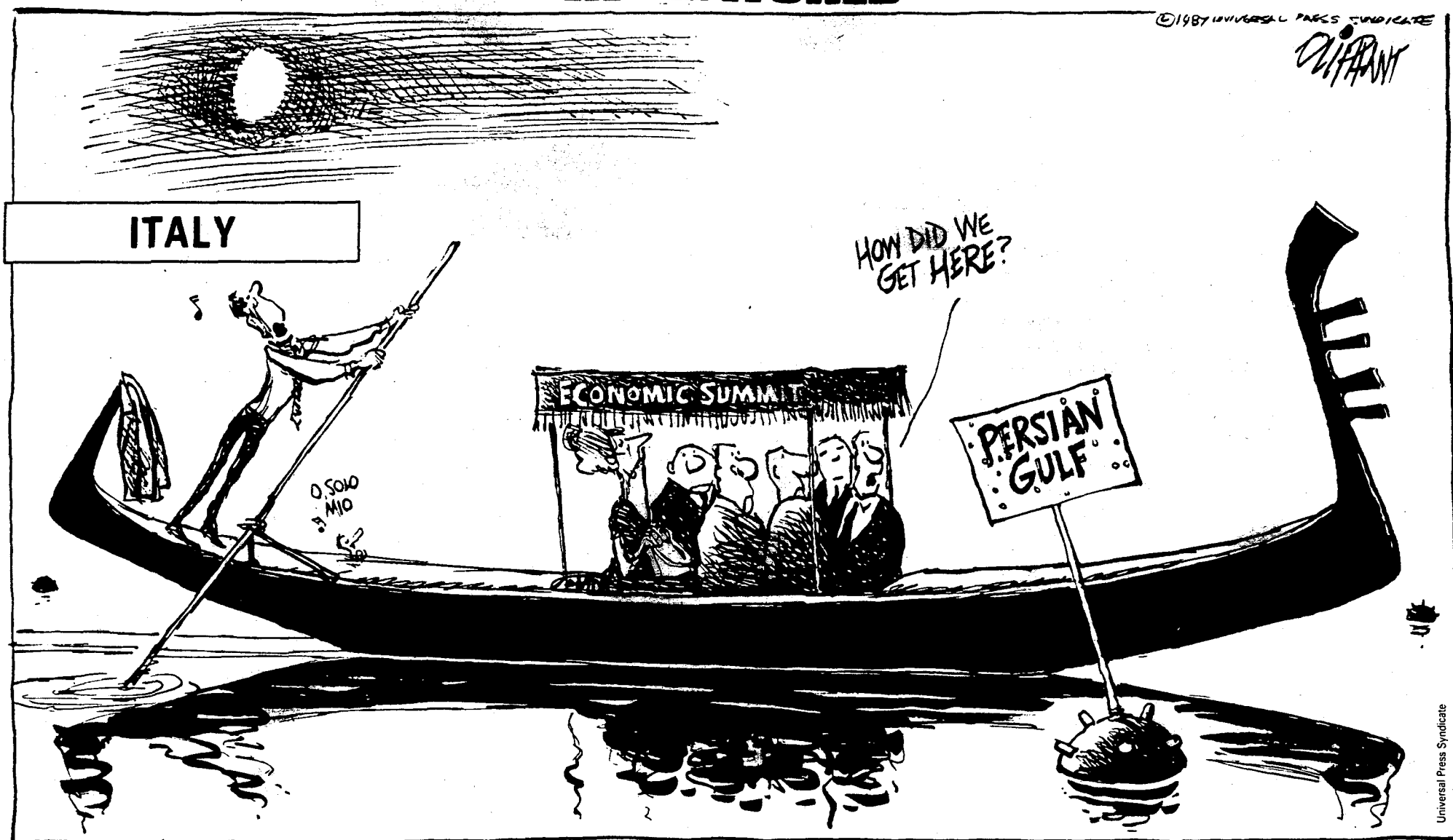
The recent heavyweight championship boxing match between challenger Gerry Cooney and title-holder Michael Spinks, which Spinks won handily, is emblematic of this process. Cooney, who is white, was widely regarded as little more than a hack fighter with little talent. Still, he earned an estimated \$5 million for the fight, while more deserving black contenders cooled their heels. "How are black people supposed to feel when they are constantly presented with those kinds of injustices?" Beckless asked.

Some argue that since there are more white than black fans of these various sports, team owners have an obligation to reflect this demographic reality in their player rosters. These observers see white players as marketing tools. Boston Garden, for example, seldom fails to attract sellout crowds, and some question whether that would be the case if the Celtics lacked talented white players like Bird, Kevin McHale and Danny Ainge. When Len Bias, the Celtics' top draft pick, was felled by a cocaine-induced heart problem, a sick joke made the rounds in many black communities that white Boston fans were behind it.

Many social critics see sports stadiums as the cathedrals of our time. While that analogy may be stretching things, it's surely no exaggeration to note that this country is obsessed by sports. Many have concluded this preoccupation offers an opportunity to address social problems that may otherwise be intractable.

Chicago journalist Keith Boseman put it this way: "When I saw this neo-Nazi demonstrator wearing a Walter Payton tee-shirt, I realized that our salvation as a society may just have to take place on one playing field or another."

CLIPART



Venice summit was good for Christian Democrats

By Diana Johnstone

VENICE

THE CAMPAIGN LEADING UP TO THE JUNE 14-15 elections was the most modern ever seen in Italy. Each contending party sought to win voters by projecting a favorable image, relatively unblemished by political issues. Thus the voters had no idea what was really at stake, beyond greed for power, nor even exactly why the elections were being held.

When Socialist Party (PSI) leader Bettino Craxi resigned last March after a postwar

record term of three-and-a-half years as prime minister, the deal was that the Christian Democrats were to take over leadership of the five-party coalition government until elections next year. But the post-Craxi government proved impossible to form, as the politicians hurled obscure insults at each other.

No nuclear vote: The only clear reason of policy for bringing down the government and holding the elections this year instead of next was to prevent the referendum already scheduled for June 14 on nuclear power. Over a million signatures—twice as

many as required by law—had been gathered. Since Chernobyl, a clear majority of the population and even of the parties say they want to stop Italy's nuclear power program. Italy is a country rich in renewable energy sources—hydroelectric, geothermal solar—with no need for nuclear power beyond ambition to keep its stake in international nuclear power (and eventually arms) production.

The Christian Democrats were most anxious that the referendum not take place. Party leaders support nuclear power, while most of the rank and file do not. A referendum on nuclear power risked splitting and weakening *Democrazia Cristiana* (DC) as the referendum on divorce did a decade ago.

In the wake of Chernobyl, both the PSI and the Italian Communists shifted to an anti-nuclear position and officially welcomed the referendum. However, despite a potential anti-nuclear majority in the parliament, they were unwilling to form a temporary caretaker coalition that would have allowed the nuclear referendum to be held before elections were called.

Instead, they let the Christian Democrats call elections that could delay the referendum and take the momentum out of the anti-nuclear movement.

But during the election campaign, none of the big parties talked about nuclear energy nor any other real issue. All the talk was of who should govern, and with whom. Eugenio Scalfari, the influential editor of the daily *La Repubblica* who is feuding with Craxi, warned that Italy would be ungovernable unless voters made a clear choice between the PSI and the DC. But as it turned out, both the DC and the PSI profited from the focus

on their rivalry. Exhorted to decide whether Craxi's Socialists or Ciriaco De Mita's Christian Democrats were best qualified to govern a modern nation, voters were incited to choose one or the other. The Christian Democrats improved their largest-party standing in both the senate and lower chamber, picking up about one-third of the vote nationwide. The Socialists, meanwhile, picked up 21 seats in the 630-seat lower chamber, bringing their total to 94. They held about even in the senate. With a majority between them, the two parties must now stop their quarreling and divide the spoils.

Seeing red: In an election that was only about who will govern, the big loser was the Communist Party (PCI), which lost 22 of its 198 seats in the lower chamber. In 40 years, the message has got across that whatever its virtues, the PCI is not allowed to govern.

Yet after 40 years in the desert, that is all the PCI wants to do. Never has its respectability been so total. Politically, it has long since moved to the right of the German Social Democrats. Its lists of "independent" candidates—who will not be subject to party discipline in parliament—were studded with the names of pillars of society, the most surprising being Milan financier Guido Rossi, the head of the stock exchange regulatory commission. With such candidates, the PCI wanted to show that it is better equipped than Craxi's party to do what Craxi set out to do four years ago—modernize the Italian state to fit the dynamic and successful Italian capitalist economy. This may well be true, but the other parties have no wish to give up their power to the PCI, and no compelling reason to do so.

A few days before the elections, the leftist daily *Manifesto* ran a series of articles by Bob Wingate showing that back in the '50s the U.S. National Security Council had planned military action in case the PCI won the

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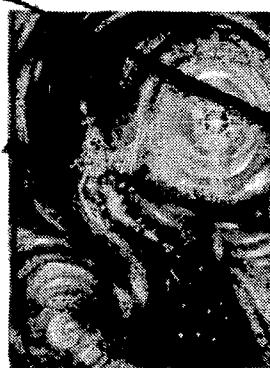
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REDISCOVERING THE ANGELS



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BY FLOWER A. NEWHOUSE

elections. Presumably, the PCI has become so fond of NATO that it no longer inspires quite the same panic in Washington. However, years of incomplete revelations about vast right-wing conspiracies have convinced Italians that no government in Rome can deviate more than a few inches from whatever line is laid down in Washington.

If anything, conservative parties have a bit more leeway. The Christian Democrats were able to show this by hosting the Venice summit of rich, market-economy nations. Indeed, desire to host the summit may have been one of the backstage reasons for the sudden feud between Craxi and the Christian Democrats this spring. With its durable warhorse Amintore Fanfani as prime minister and Giulio Andreotti as foreign minister, the Christian Democrats had the Venice summit stage to themselves only a few days before the election.

They used it to show their ability to say "no" to Ronald Reagan. It has gotten to be a habit at these gatherings that the U.S. tries at the last minute to stampede its allies into some rash commitment. This time the panic button was marked "protecting free navigation in the Gulf." What was supposed to panic the allies was not the threat to oil access—which is no greater than before—but the silly chorus from the influential Rep. Lee Aspin (D-WI) and other U.S. congressmen blasting selfish Europeans for not supporting the Reagan administration's sudden military foray into Arab-Persian Gulf shipping lanes.

Venetians especially hated the summit for filling their city with security guards and emptying it of business. Reagan himself seemed at moments in danger of being smothered or crushed to death by secret service men. This was the only way he aroused any sympathy.

Ignoring Uncle Sam: The Italians, who followed the U.S. into Lebanon in 1982 and, unlike the French and the Americans themselves, managed to get out again virtually unscathed, made it clear from the start they were not about to follow the U.S. into yet another ill-conceived adventure whose only sure outcome will be to make still-more-dangerous enemies. At most, the Italian government is willing to help U.S. adventurism elsewhere by taking up more of the "burden" in the Mediterranean—increasing Italy's status as a regional power.

Italian diplomats pointed proudly to the "success" of the Venice summit in getting the U.S. to accept the European view that oil access is only part of the problem of the Gulf war, which needs concerted U.N. peace-making efforts. "The U.S. is not now in the best position to tell others what to do in the Gulf," an Italian diplomat said in a courteous allusion to Irangate.

Believe it or not, Reagan was obliged to endorse, of all things, an effort by the U.N. Security Council to seek a speedy end to the Iran-Iraq war, an arms embargo to both sides and free oil flow. His friends at the Heritage Foundation will, of course, never stand for such a surrender.

Italian diplomacy seems particularly skilled in adjusting to the vagaries of the U.S. foreign policy and seeing what advantages can be drawn from its errors. Italian and other European officials who have seen the famous U.S. "proofs" of Libyan involvement in terrorism—the secret evidence used to justify the April 15, 1986, bombing of Libyan cities—say there was in fact no convincing proof that Libya was responsible for terrorist acts against U.S. citizens.

But Italian diplomats are not overly indig-

nant about the U.S. bombing of Libya. After all, there was "no risk in bombing Khadafy." Libya was too weak to retaliate and the USSR was not going to get involved. And there were benefits from the bombing: other states got the message. Syria has tried to stop terrorism. In short, bombing Libya was a safe way of threatening Syria.

On the other hand, Europeans are of the opinion that the Reagan administration has contributed to terrorism first by siding with Israel in Lebanon and then by its arms deals with Iran. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the subsequent U.S. expedition provoked the anti-Western armed Shi'ite movement backed by Iran, the one state everyone knows is really backing the hostage-taking in Lebanon and related bombings in Paris. But the U.S. would rather bomb Libya, and the French would rather blame the Abdallah brothers—an anti-Israeli Christian-Lebanese family that France held responsible for a series of bombings in Paris last year—than tangle directly with Iran over the terrorism issue.

Italy means to keep good relations with

all sides to avoid having its nationals targeted so long as the conflict endures, and to be well placed for building contracts whenever the work of reconstruction gets underway.

Whatever government is eventually put together after the electoral success of Craxi's Socialists and his rival Christian Democrats, Italian foreign policy is unlikely to change. Only one government party tried to use foreign policy as an election issue: the most pro-Israeli political leader in Italy, ex-defense minister Giovanni Spadolini, led his Republican Party to relative defeat by campaigning as the champion of anti-terrorism.

On the left, the only party that raised foreign policy issues was Milan-based Mario Capanna's small *Democrazia Proletaria* (DP), the sole surviving remnant of the '60s movement. DP, which had led the drive for the nuclear referendum, improved its score slightly, from 1.5 percent to 1.7 percent in the lower house vote, enough for representation in Italy's proportional system. It failed to reap the fruits of its anti-nuclear campaign, however, because of the appearance

of a rather conservative Italian Green Party, which gained one senate and 13 lower house seats in its first election.

The end of an era? This left protest vote was practically enough to account for the PCI's drop. But psychologically, the PCI's loss was worse than the few percentage points it slipped, since it added to the general feeling that the European left is at the end of an era. In the same week, Thatcher defeated the British Labour Party for the third time despite an admirable campaign by Neil Kinnock, Felipe Gonzalez' Spanish Socialist Workers Party lost its urban majorities and Willy Brandt officially retired as head of the German Social Democratic Party.

By increasing the PSI score from more than 11 percent to more than 14 percent in the lower chamber, Craxi inched toward his goal of overtaking the Communist score. Only when the PSI is stronger than the PCI might Craxi follow the Mitterrand example of a coalition with the Communists. The unconsoling paradox is that its electoral losses may be the only way for the PCI to achieve its goal of getting into government. □

German peace movement says scrap all missiles

By Diana Johnstone

BONN

THE GERMAN PEACE MOVEMENT AGAIN CAME out in force on June 13 to demand that all nuclear Euromissiles be scrapped—including the shorter-range Pershing 1A missiles that Chancellor Helmut Kohl has insisted on exempting from the Soviet-U.S. "double zero option" deal.

Petra Kelly, speaking for the Green Party, accused the conservative Bonn government of "openly turning its back on the Federal Republic's solemn vow not to produce or possess atomic weapons when it suddenly describes as 'German weapons' the Bundeswehr's American Pershing 1A missiles and their nuclear warheads which are still in American custody."

Willy Brandt's successor as chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), Hans Jochen Vogel, told the crowd that "a new page has been turned in Europe's history" as the result of a "change in consciousness to which the peace movement has made a decisive contribution." All the old "enemy images" must be overcome, Vogel said, and the centuries-old models of solving quarrels between nations must give way to reconciliation and peace.

The SPD leader said a broad stream of peace must wash away those who balked at the zero option and who are now still clinging to the Pershing 1A missiles—meaning the Christian Democrats around Kohl and his defense minister, Manfred Wörner.

A first step: The big lawn at Bonn University overflowed with more than 100,000 people, recalling the peace movement's first massive demonstrations in the early '80s. The theme was "Scrap atomic missiles—take the first step." Speakers stressed that the first step—getting rid of Soviet and American so-called "intermediate range nuclear forces" or INF—must not be used as a pretext for another NATO nuclear or conventional arms buildup.

Rainer van Henkelum of Pax Christi rejoiced that "the Soviet Union has taken up our demands" and is seeking to break the dynamic of the arms race. But although polls show that 90 percent of the German people want to eliminate Euromissiles, the Bonn

government has still not really said "yes" to the "double zero option." Van Henkelum explained that "whoever wants to keep the Pershing 1A with their atomic warheads wants to hinder the double zero option. Zero plus zero is not 1A, Mr. Chancellor!"

The Pax Christi speaker warned that "whoever says Pershing 1A will say Pershing 1B" and is out to have their "own nuclear weapons" to take part in a West European nuclear force.

Petra Kelly accused Cold Warriors, who fear disarmament, of secretly planning to re-

ARMS CONTROL

place the Euromissiles by hanging onto the Pershing 1A, Germanized and eventually modernized by a longer-range Pershing 1B, while "with the fairy tale of the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority the planned Western conventional arms buildup is legitimized." The "macabre vision of a united military West European superpower" sets the stage for a "sharpening of bloc confrontation," she warned.

She also denounced "[U.S. Secretary of Defense] Caspar Weinberger's increasingly unscrupulous demands for NATO partners to get involved outside the treaty area." Kelly, who along with former NATO Gen. Gert Bastian attended the Peace Forum hosted by Mikhail Gorbachov in Moscow last January, urged that a similar Peace Forum be held in Germany next fall, "since Reagan refused to hold one in the U.S."

Kelly's championing of the peace issue was an essential contribution to launching the Greens as a successful electoral party, but her successors have tended to neglect that unifying issue as they become increasingly absorbed with in-fighting. The Bonn demonstration organizers used the occasion to reprimand the Greens in public for their incessant internal bickering. "Stop the quarreling, pay attention to the central content of policy, put the question of peace back in the foreground!" was the peace movement's plea to the Greens.

When Vogel began to speak, a few anarchists threw eggs at the speakers' platform. Vogel is not one of the small group of Social

Democrats who helped pioneer opposition to Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. But his presence showed that nuclear disarmament has moved from the SPD's margins to its mainstream.

Peace over jobs: Ilse Brusis, a member of the leadership board of the huge German Trade Union Confederation (DGB), came out squarely on the side of disarmament, even if it means lost jobs. "The argument used and abused again and again that armament ensures jobs is irresponsible, adventurous and crazy," she said. "Submarines for Chile, tanks for Saudi Arabia and arms shipped round about to South Africa have nothing to do with jobs but everything to do with foreign policy, power politics and profits."

Brusis said German unions would not allow jobs to be used as the clinching argument in favor of the arms industry. "As unionists, we don't feel bound to the dogma that every job is worth saving. Every job abolished in connection with disarmament is a step forward. But," she added, "for each of these jobs a new one must be created."

Brusis acknowledged that economic interests made disarmament difficult, and pointed to Reagan's Star Wars as a program whose main purpose is transferring large sums of public money to industry, on the pretense of safeguarding peace.

The day before the successful Bonn demonstration, President Reagan flopped in an attempted remake of John Kennedy's "I am a Berliner" visit to West Berlin. Reagan's standard Cold War oration fell flat. Gesticulating in front of the Berlin Wall was an all-too-obvious attempt to distract from Gorbachov's constructive disarmament proposals and to stave off the winds of reason blowing from the East and threatening to engulf the Free World. Not even the handpicked audience of Americans sounded convincingly enthusiastic.

A quarter of a century ago, when Kennedy inadvertently told West Berliners that he was a doughnut (which is what "*ich bin ein Berliner*" conveys to the German ear), the emotional relationship of forces was so much in his favor that they loved him anyway. But times have changed. If Kennedy was the doughnut, Reagan is the hole. □

Editor's note: Last year a small Beirut magazine alerted the world to the bizarre U.S.-Iran negotiations of 1985-86, in which President Ronald Reagan traded U.S. weapons to Tehran for hostages held in Lebanon. The resulting scandal exposed the administration's subterranean policies, which were contrary to its professed aims and repellent to the fundamental values of the United States.

Now *In These Times* has uncovered evidence that Reagan's deals with Iran go back much further than 1985. They may in fact have begun even before Reagan was president—in a cynical conspiracy between the Reagan campaign and the Iranian officials to affect the outcome of the 1980 election.

Much of the evidence presented here has previously been reported, but the pieces are put together for the first time by freelance investigative writer Barbara Honegger. She worked in the national headquarters of the 1980 Reagan campaign, and after the election was rewarded with a post as a policy analyst at the White House, where she served until 1982.

She brings to her exhaustive research an inside understanding of the Reagan campaign. Honegger knew first-hand the campaign's anxious atmosphere, which may have led Reagan aides to negotiate with Iran—not to secure the hostages' release but to make sure they stayed in their captors' hands until after the election.

In *In These Times* staff writer Jim Naureckas collaborated with Honegger on the following article.

By Barbara Honegger with Jim Naureckas

IN OCTOBER 1980, NOTHING WORRIED THE REAGAN campaign so much as the possibility that the 52 hostages held by Iran might come home. The Reagan camp feared that the public perception of President Carter's weakness would evaporate if he could win the captives' release before the election—what Reagan staffers called an "October surprise."

But in the campaign's closing weeks, the mood of high anxiety suddenly changed. In late October Barbara Honegger was working as a researcher for the campaign's Arlington, Va., national headquarters. "We don't have to worry about an October surprise," a jubilant staffer at the campaign's operations center told her. "Dick cut a deal."

"Dick" was Richard Allen, Reagan's chief foreign policy adviser. And the "deal," research by *In These Times* suggests, was an agreement that Reagan would guarantee post-election arms shipments to Iran in exchange for delaying the hostages' release until after the November 4 election.

Why would the Reagan campaign seek such a seemingly incredible arrangement? Because it saw an October surprise as the campaign's number-one threat.

In late fall surveys still found the election too close to call. Reagan's top pollster, Richard Wirthlin, predicted that a pre-election hostage release would boost Carter at least 5 or 6 percent in the polls, and as much as 10 percent—giving him a sure victory—if the release came before the campaign's final week. The Reagan Revolution would be over before it had begun.

Operation October Surprise: Reagan's election effort was headed by campaign manager William Casey, who later became CIA director, and chief-of-staff Edwin Meese III, now Reagan's attorney general. Casey, Meese and other top Reagan aides met for

30 minutes each morning to discuss the hostage situation, according to journalists Jack Germond and Jules Witcover. Germond and Witcover wrote that the campaign anticipated the October surprise with a "trepidation bordering on paranoia."

Casey and Meese named Allen to head a 10-man "October Surprise Group," whose purpose, the *New York Times* wrote on Oct. 7, 1980, was "the guessing of possible Carter moves and the formulation of countermoves to preserve Mr. Reagan's current lead in the polls." The group included soon-to-be Reagan officials like Fred Ikle, now undersecretary of defense, and John Lehman, who served as Reagan's Navy secretary.

The group's activities were part of what Casey described to reporters as the campaign's "intelligence operation." It was investigated in 1983 by a congressional subcommittee chaired by Rep. Donald Albosta (D-MI) after reports surfaced that Reagan had prepared for the Oct. 28, 1980, debate by using materials stolen from the Carter campaign.

In May 1984 the committee released the two-volume, 2,413-page Albosta Report, titled "Unauthorized Transfers of Non-Public Information During the 1980 Presidential Election." The report details the campaign's inner workings, and includes dozens of confidential memos. But coming out at the height of Reagan's popularity, the report received little media attention and was quickly forgotten.

The Albosta Report established that Adm. Robert Garrick, the campaign's "research and policy development" director, arranged for retired military officers to gather intelligence on U.S. aircraft movements that could indicate a forthcoming hostage release. Shortly before the election, Meese wrote a confidential staff memo saying that Garrick would be working full time on "activities relating to our response to the hostage issue."

Garrick also set up an "operations center" in Arlington, Va., run by Stefan Halper, director of "policy coordination." The center supposedly monitored news, but the memos written by Halper to Meese uncovered by the Albosta investigation all dealt with internal Carter campaign matters.

One of Halper's top officers, Robert Gambino, was formerly the CIA's director of security and had been George Bush's bodyguard during his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. The other officers at the operations center—Davis Robinson, Michael Smith and Montcreif Spears—were also veterans of the Bush campaign, which had extensive intelligence contacts from Bush's 1976-77 tenure as CIA chief.

The campaign's intelligence efforts paid off. Reagan public-relations aide Peter Hanaford wrote in *The Reagans: A Political Portrait* that in late September 1980, "the Reagan camp's intelligence detected that the Carter White House was negotiating for the release of the American captives in Iran." And in fact the Carter administration was talking to Iran about freeing the hostages before November 4, according to the memoirs of Carter administration officials.

On Oct. 15, 1980, Allen, as head of the October Surprise Group, sent a memo to Reagan and his closest advisers warning that a hostage release could come before the election like a "bolt from the blue" because of Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr's desire to rid himself of the hostage crisis. "You are probably safe for this week and maybe even next week," a source told John Wallach, a reporter friendly to the Reagan campaign, according to Allen's memo. "Surprises could happen at the end of the month." Allen later said that the source was Carter's secretary of state, Edmund Muskie.

The man with no name: About this time Allen took part in an extraordinary meeting, first revealed by Bob Woodward and Walter Pincus in the *Washington Post* on Nov. 29, 1986, and reported more fully by Alfonso Chardy in the *Miami Herald* last April 12. According to the *Herald*, Allen, his aide Laurence Silberman and Robert McFarlane—then working for Sen. John Tower (R-TX) on the Senate Armed Services Committee—met with "a man who said he represented the Iranian government" in "early October" 1980.

The *Post* described the envoy as "an Iranian exile." According to the *Herald*, he made this offer to Reagan's men: Iran would release the hostages to Reagan, not Carter, in order to "ensure President Carter's defeat in the November election."

Both Allen and McFarlane went on to become national security advisers, from which post McFarlane would be responsible for the 1985 secret arms-for-hostages negotiations with Iran. Silberman was appointed to the federal judiciary by Reagan.

McFarlane told the *Herald* he arranged the secret meeting, which took place in a Washington hotel. "An individual claiming to be Iranian approached me and was referred to the Reagan campaign staff," he said. McFarlane, Allen and Silberman all told the *Herald* that they rejected the offer of a hostage deal between the Reagan campaign and Iran.

"I said to him, 'We have one president at a time,'" Silberman said. Allen claimed that he wrote up minutes of the meeting, but later lost them. And all three men maintained that they couldn't remember the name of the person they met with.

The final days: But the events that followed in the last weeks of October 1980 raise doubts that the deal was dismissed. In his October debate with Carter, Reagan responded to charges that he had a "secret plan" for the hostages by saying that his ideas involved "quiet diplomacy, where you don't say in advance, or say to anyone, what it is you're thinking of doing." And on October 30, according to journalist Roland Perry, Casey dismissed the danger of a hostage release, saying that if something happened to give Carter the election, "it won't be the hostages."

Casey, of course, turned out to be right. The Iranians, who once planned to release the hostages before the election, held on to them until long after their release could help Carter. And between October 11 and October 22 the Iranians significantly changed their bargaining position.

Earlier in the month, according to Carter's

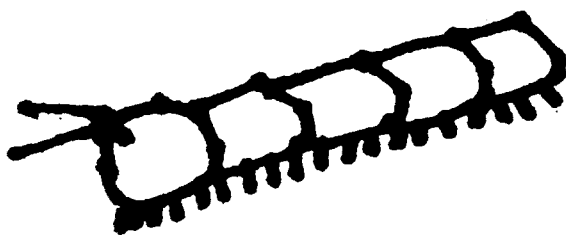


National Security Council expert on Iran, Gary Sick, Iran had insisted on receiving American weapons and spare parts paid for by the shah. But Sick's book *All Fall Down* reports that by October 22 Iran had specifically limited its demands to cash assets frozen in the U.S.—despite the desperate need for spare parts caused by the September 22 Iraqi invasion. Such a shift makes sense if Iran knew it would have access to U.S.-made arms under a Reagan administration.

Carter's account of his presidency, *Keeping Faith*, notes that "hard-liners" in Iran blocked his final efforts to reach an agreement before the election. And Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote in his memoirs, "Our hopes for a positive resolution of the hostage issue were dashed in late October."

"The deal is off": On November 4—the anniversary of the embassy takeover—the hostages were still in Tehran and Reagan

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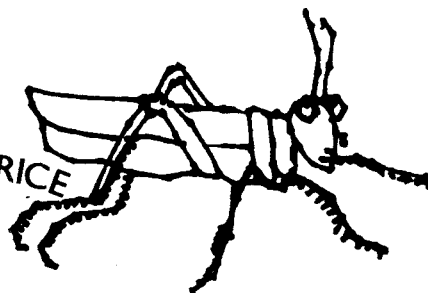
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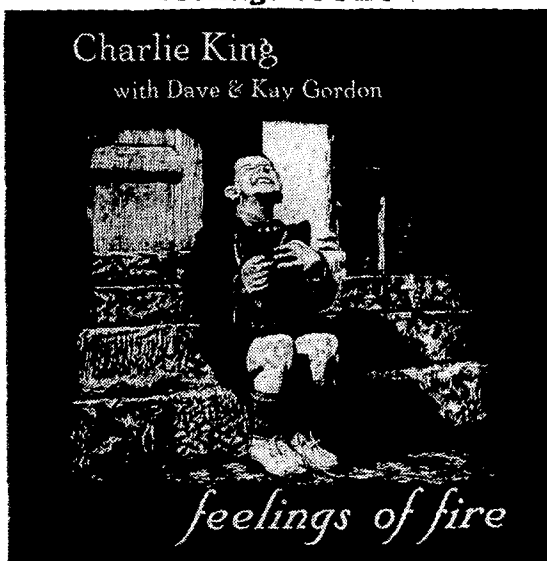
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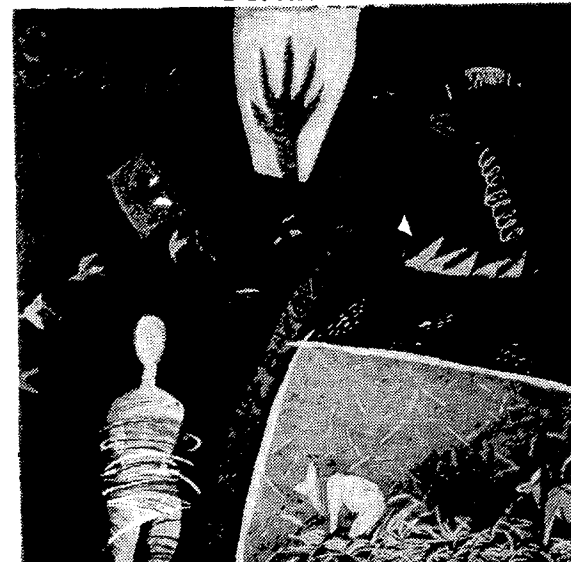
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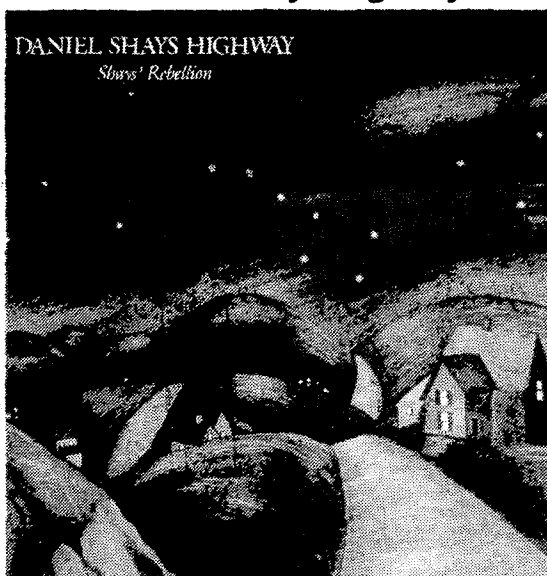
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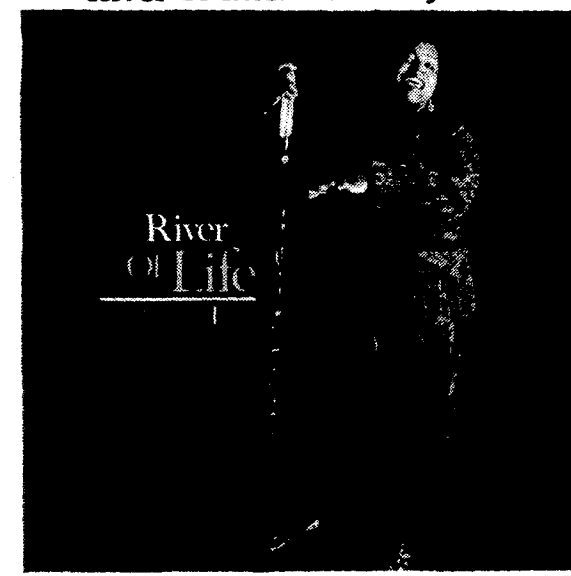
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the 1980 election?



was elected by a wide margin. After the election, Carter finalized a hostage agreement with Iran on favorable terms—no military goods were shipped to Iran, and the U.S. returned only \$4 billion of Iran's \$12 billion that had been frozen since the crisis began. The hostages remained in captivity until Jan. 20, 1981, the day Reagan took the oath of office, and they left Tehran minutes after he became president.

Bani-Sadr told the *Miami Herald* that Iranian officials had "closely coordinated the hostage release with Reagan aides," whose names Bani-Sadr did not know. One of the Iranians, according to Bani-Sadr, was Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, seen by Carter negotiators as "hard-line." Rafsanjani later negotiated the 1985 arms-for-hostages deal with McFarlane.

The hostages' release, an upbeat beginning for Reagan's presidency, did have one

hitch: the unresolved question of Cynthia Dwyer, a journalist arrested by Iran in May 1980 who was not released with the other 52 hostages.

In a Nov. 7, 1986, interview on the *MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour*, Allen said Reagan had taken a tough line on Dwyer with the Iranians: "Get the word out that the deal is off unless she's on the plane," Allen said Reagan had told him.

But Reagan could not have called off Carter's hostage deal, since Carter had already transferred the \$4 billion in frozen funds he had promised Iran. Reagan may have been making an empty threat, but he also could have been referring to a separate deal—perhaps the deal the Iranian offered to Allen, Reagan's top foreign policy adviser—that candidate Reagan had worked out with Iran through "quiet diplomacy."

Dwyer was released on Feb. 9, 1981, after newly named Secretary of State Alexander Haig said that the outcome of her case would affect U.S. policy toward Iran.

Under the umbrella: In 1981 Iran began receiving U.S.-made weapons—arms that may have been a *quid pro quo* for delaying the hostages' release.

The Reagan administration would have faced a problem in upholding its end of a pre-election bargain with Iran: it would be politically impossible to directly supply arms to anti-American Iran. But Reagan had several alternative channels available, including the global network of private arms dealers and the U.S.'s most reliable ally, Israel.

Like the 1985 arms shipments that ransom hostages held in Lebanon, the arms shipped to Iran in 1981 came from Israel, which is required to get prior U.S. approval to sell U.S.-made weapons to third countries. Israel would be the natural intermediary to secretly supply Iran with arms, since the U.S. often uses Israel to supply weapons to countries the U.S. prefers not to arm directly, such as South Africa, Somoza's Nicaragua and Guatemala under military rule. Israel's defense minister at the time of the 1981 shipments to Iran, Gen. Ariel Sharon, told the *Washington Post* a year later that the U.S. had been informed of the arms going to Iran and had expressed no objections.

The *Washington Post* reported on Nov. 29, 1986, that Secretary of State Haig gave Israel permission to ship \$10 million to \$15 million worth of U.S. arms to Iran in 1981. The *Post* wrote that a key advocate of this plan—which violated stated administration policy—was McFarlane, who had just joined the State Department as a counselor to Haig.

The *Post* reported that these shipments had earlier been discussed by Allen and Morris Amitay, an American lobbyist for Israel, in late 1980. This was presumably after Allen's meeting with the Iranian representative.

Others involved in approving the Israeli shipments of U.S.-made weapons were Michael Ledeen, who was working for McFarlane, and Richard Secord, who was then the assistant secretary of defense with responsibility for the Mideast.

But the arms shipments from Israel may have been small in comparison to the mili-

tary supplies Iran received from private arms dealers. Despite official prohibitions against military sales to Iran, "hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of U.S.-made military equipment continues to flow to Iran each year" through private sources, *Time* reported on July 25, 1983. Several of these arms flows are documented in the National Security Archive's chronology of the Iran-contra scandal.

European Defense Associates, for example, was set up in 1983 to supply Iran with up to \$1 billion in advanced weaponry. The company was founded by Col. Ralph Broman, head of the Pentagon's Office of Defense Cooperation in Paris, and a former CIA officer named Paul Cutter. When the deal was exposed in 1987, Cutter told the *New York Times*, "We all worked under the umbrella of Defense Department approval."

The Reagan administration gave at least tacit approval to these arms sales. "The U.S. has shown little zeal in enforcing the ban on arms sales to Iran," *Time* wrote in 1983. The U.S. government did not make serious attempts to halt private sales of U.S. arms to Iran until after it had begun direct arms negotiations with Iran in 1985.

Beyond Watergate: If the Reagan administration approved these weapons shipments, as private arms dealers have charged, then Iran profited greatly by delaying the hostages' release until after Reagan had been elected. In 1980, according to Sick, Carter's negotiators only offered Iran \$50 million worth of non-lethal spare parts already paid for by the shah—withholding those weapons that were "technologically sensitive and/or

of high lethality." But since Reagan took office, Iran has received hundreds of millions if not billions of dollars worth of high-tech U.S. weaponry, enough to carry its war with Iraq into its seventh year.

Yet shipments of U.S.-made arms to Iran before 1985 were ignored by the president's hand-picked Iran scandal investigators, the Tower Commission. (See *In These Times*, March 11.) Tower, the commission's head, was McFarlane's boss at the time of his October 1980 meeting with the Iranian, as well as Reagan's campaign chief in Texas. McFarlane also worked for Brent Scowcroft, another member of the commission, when Scowcroft was President Ford's national security adviser. The board's token Democrat was Muskie, Carter's secretary of state, who, according to Allen, passed vital information about the hostage negotiations to a journalist friendly to the Reagan camp.

McFarlane, Casey, Meese, Ledeen and Secord were deeply involved in the 1985-86 arms-for-hostages deals that led to the current scandal. There is a similarity between that situation and the proposed 1980 deal. In both pacts, Reagan's people secretly bargained with Iran over hostages, promising in return weapons the U.S. government had publicly claimed it would never give the "terrorist" nation.

Another analogy is Watergate, in which a political candidate used covert operations to subvert his opponent's campaign. But in Watergate the dirty tricks were limited to electioneering and didn't sabotage government policy during an international crisis with lives at stake.

A conspiracy between a presidential candidate and a hostile foreign power against an incumbent president would seem to be without precedent in American history. But if Reagan struck a successful deal with Iran and captured the presidency in 1980, it would explain why he agreed to the bizarre alliance with Iran in 1985 and 1986: he had gotten away with it before. □

All the news that was not fit to print

Part of the 1980 Reagan campaign's intelligence operation to prevent an "October surprise" was designed to manipulate the media. Robert Gray, the campaign's communications director, wrote an undated memo to campaign chief-of-staff Edwin Meese "re hostages," reprinted in the 1983 Albosta Report, reminding him of "our ability to sow a story or start news trends." Gray suggested that the campaign "leak to news sources our knowledge of the Carter-planned events, spelling out what Carter will do to make a media event of the release."

The Reagan campaign used the media well. Journalists close to the Reagan campaign, like George Will, Rowland Evans and Michael Novak, circulated stories about a Carter arms-for-hostages deal in the campaign's final days. Contrary to these reports, no such deal was underway, and by that time the question of weapons had been excluded from Carter's negotiations with Iran.

The Reagan campaign may also have manipulated less ideologically aligned reporters. In a series of columns in August 1980 Jack Anderson falsely reported that Carter had ordered a mid-October invasion of Iran. This disinformation may have caused serious damage to Carter's negotiations. Anderson claims that he based his story on leaked documents, raising the

possibility that the Reagan campaign engaged in forgery.

That theory is explored by journalist Donald Freed in his book *The Secret Life of Ronald Reagan*, which investigates disinformation in the 1980 campaign. When Freed interviewed *Washington Post* reporter George Wilson, Wilson said "an anonymous source who claimed to work for the CIA" had given him in mid-September a purported CIA document estimating that 60 percent of the hostages would be killed if a rescue was attempted. According to Freed, Wilson chose not to run a story based on the document because he decided it was forged.

News producers at WLS-TV, the Chicago ABC affiliate, may wish they had made the same decision. The station reported on Oct. 15, 1980, that U.S. planes filled with military supplies were on their way to Iran. While at that time the U.S. was discussing turning over spare parts the shah had purchased, the WLS-TV story proved false. The Albosta committee reported that "a highly placed member of the U.S. intelligence community" had leaked the story to WLS-TV because "publicizing the secret hostage negotiations would have delayed a pre-election release of the U.S. hostages in Iran, to the benefit of the Reagan-Bush campaign."

—B.H. and J.N.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"



Kinnock and Labour begin to undermine Cold War premise

On June 11, Britain's Conservative Party won its third straight election victory, defeating both the Labour Party, led by Neil Kinnock, and the Alliance—made up of Liberals and Social Democrats who split from Labour during Margaret Thatcher's first term. Although a minority party—with 42.3 percent of the vote—the Conservatives now hold 375 seats and will enjoy a majority in Parliament of 101 seats. This represents a loss of 22 seats from 1983, 20 of which were gained by Labour, which won 229 seats. The Alliance, which lost one seat, will have 22 members in the new House of Commons.

Thatcher's victory clearly reflects a divided Britain. The Conservatives swept the currently prosperous southern tier of the country and won in the relatively well-off suburban sections of the Midlands. But in economically depressed Scotland and Wales, they won only 10 of 72 and eight of 38 seats respectively. In declining industrial Liverpool they were unable to win any of the city's 17 seats.

Despite early predictions of disastrous decline, Labour retained its position as Britain's number-two party. It was the Alliance—which dreamed of displacing Labour—that suffered a disaster. Nevertheless, Labour's vote convincingly demonstrated the party's failure to develop a program—or resonance—with middle-income working people who have done relatively well during the current period of expansion. Indeed, Kinnock's appeal on behalf of the poor and the unemployed was reminiscent of Walter Mondale's appeals to the charitable instincts of the American people during the 1984 presidential campaign. Labour's programmatic proposals made sense to those suffering most immediately from Thatcher's policies, but they offered little more than moral rectitude to those doing reasonably well.

Kinnock offered genuinely new ideas only in the realm of military policy. Predictably, his ideas in that realm—which, unfortunately, were poorly formulated—came under heavy attack from both Thatcher and Alliance leaders.

Kinnock has long advocated a nuclear-free Britain, and in arguing that nuclear arms should be removed from British soil, said they

were unnecessary as a deterrent because "any effort to occupy the United Kingdom would be utterly untenable, and any potential forces know that very well." In response, both the Conservatives and the Alliance parties accused Kinnock of defeatism. "When you've accepted occupation," Social Democrat David Owen said, "there's not much need for a defense policy." And Margaret Thatcher, recalling the dark days of World War II, insisted that "of course, there is and continues to be a Soviet threat." A responsible person, she argued, does not "rely on hopes" for defense. "What deters attack is nuclear weapons."

But having raised the issue that is the major rationale for Cold War military policy, Kinnock attempted to back off. When pressed, he did say that a Soviet effort to dominate Western Europe would be "a militarily completely unfeasible position." But he made no attempt to explain why, and weakened his own position by stressing the need for conventional military strength as a substitute for nuclear arms.

In fact, of course, there is no Soviet threat, either military or political, to the West. Even in the period of a monolithic world Communist movement, now long gone, the Soviets never presented a military threat except along its immediate periphery. Indeed, when Italy's Communist Party had the opportunity to take power in 1945, Stalin instructed it not to. Politically weak Eastern Europe, unable to pacify Afghanistan, and with problems of modernization at home, the Soviets have neither the incentive nor the means for military action beyond their traditional sphere of influence.

An anti-nuclear policy cannot succeed without an end to the myth of a Soviet military threat to the West, for as long as that threat remains popularly credible, most people will accept nuclear deterrence as a rational policy. That is why the traditional-defense vs. nuclear-defense position is a losing proposition. Nuclear stalemate can be ended only when the political premise for the Cold War is confronted and its major myth abandoned. Neil Kinnock took an important step in this direction. It took courage, because this is an argument that flies in the face of well-entrenched ideology, and therefore must initially be a loser. But if we are to see a real change away from the nuclear and military orientation of our social priorities, this issue must eventually be pressed in public debate. For starting that process we are grateful to Kinnock and the British Labour Party.

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

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LETTERS

Misguided

I WAS AMAZED BY YOUR INTERVIEW WITH CZECHOSlovak "dissident" Jiri Dienstbier (ITT, May 27). You picked an individual who is obviously isolated from the majority of the Czechoslovakian people. The very fact that his latest book has a circulation of only 150(!), and he talks of a demonstration of a few hundred misguided individuals as if it is a big thing proves this.

In actual fact, the vast majority of Czechs support socialism as it exists (with whatever faults it may have) in their country. In my opinion, people such as yourselves, who consider themselves socialists, should catch up with the growing number of Americans who recognize that, whatever disagreements we have with the social system in Eastern Europe, it is supported by the majority of Eastern Europeans.

Gregory Butler
New York

Editor's note: (1) *Samizdat* (self-published) books in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries are done by hand or, at best, on mimeograph machines. Many can be published only in half a dozen copies. But each copy is read by many people. (2) It is probably true that a majority of Czechs support "socialism as it exists" in their country today. But so did the majority of Germans support National Socialism as it existed in Germany in the '30s and '40s, just as a plurality of Britons appear to support Thatcherism and the majority of Americans did support Reaganism. The question is whether they would support it if a realistic alternative were available. We know the answer, unfortunately, in Britain. We don't know it in Czechoslovakia. Dissidents like Jiri Dienstbier believe they would not. We think he is right.

False premises

JOHN B. JUDIS' "BEHIND THE HOUSE TRADE BILL" (ITT, May 6) is an unconvincing apology for a peculiarly regressive strand of neo-liberalism. Referring to the "administration's belated retaliation against the Japanese" for their failure to adhere to a semi-conductor agreement, Judis never bothers to provide evidence that the Japanese actually violated the agreement; he blithely assumes that they did because the Reagan administration says so. But the Japanese have disputed this claim and provided evidence to which the administration did not respond. A serious analyst would note this and compare the claims and facts.

Similarly, in discussing the Gephardt proposal for retaliation against countries engaging in a "pattern of unfair trade practices," Judis simply asserts as fact that the Japanese are winning market share by "selling goods here below cost." But almost all economists examining this issue have concluded that the charge is false, and that the Japanese generally win out by quality and service, their willingness to accept lower profit margins, and prices that reflect lower costs and greater efficiency. Judis says that the "infamous" Smoot-Hawley bill protected U.S. firms by raising the price of foreign goods above their market value, implying that this wouldn't be true for Gephardt-type protectionism. This is nonsense, as should be evident to anybody who

watched the price effects of the quota enforced on Japanese auto-makers several years ago (which cost the American consumer an estimated \$13 billion in 1984 alone). Furthermore, Judis is apparently unaware of the fact that Smoot-Hawley, like any other piece of protectionism, was justified on the grounds of "unfair competition," with as much empirical backing as the Gephardt bill.

It is true that the Japanese protect their agriculture and other products, but so does the U.S., and competent estimates suggest that an across-the-board leveling of the playing field would see increases in Japanese sales to the U.S. roughly offsetting increases in the opposite direction.

Most economists believe that the U.S. trade deficit is accounted for mainly by structural factors and Reaganite macro-policy. Judis cites Gephardt as admitting that the bullying and protectionist tactics he is pushing would reduce the trade deficit by only 15-20 percent. If that is so, and if there might be nasty secondary effects in working the protectionist route, shouldn't policy be focused mainly on the sources for the 80-85 percent? This would mean attacking the grossly inflated military budget, structural-managerial sources of non-competitiveness and recent monetary-fiscal policy. As the Democrats are charter members of the military-industrial complex, that option is out, and the others are less appetizing politically than blaming things on the foreigner.

Judis ignores these more fundamental issues. Having stated that the criticism of Gephardt is based on several erroneous assumptions, he says lamely that while trade sanctions are "not a panacea...they are hardly 'economically meaningless.'" As noted above, Judis merely assumes that the protectionist arguments are valid; if they are not, then this line of policy is not even marginally useful, and the Gephardt initiative stands condemned as a piece of blatant opportunism.

Edward S. Herman
Penn Valley, Pa.

John B. Judis replies: Herman wants to identify my position with a regressive "neo-liberalism," but it would be more accurate to identify Herman's with the Unification Church, since the Washington Times took substantially the same position as he has. In fact, the Gephardt amendment's principal backers were the paleo-liberal AFL-CIO, and its principal opponents were on the non-labor left, the neo-liberal center and the right.

Herman insists either that there is no evidence of Japanese unfair trade practices or that I have provided none. I cited evidence

that the Japanese were "dumping" semiconductor chips (e.g. the secret Hitachi memo instructing its salesmen to keep quoting 10 percent below Intel and Advanced Micro Devices "till you win") and that the Japanese were violating last year's agreement to open its markets to American producers (the American share of the Japanese market, which under the agreement was supposed to rise to 21 percent by 1991 dropped from 8.5 to 8.4 percent since the agreement was signed.)

Herman suggests that my opinion differs from that of "most economists." "Most" economists do not follow closely the semiconductor industry and U.S.-Japanese trade, but at least "some" of those who do, like Michael Borrus of the Berkeley Roundtable on International Economics, believe that the Japanese have been dumping chips in the U.S. and denying access in Japan to American products.

Herman describes the Gephardt bill as "bullying" and predicts that its "nasty secondary effects" will outweigh any increase in U.S. trade it would achieve. But the recent American experience with Japan suggests otherwise. The administration's trade stand, coupled with House passage of the Gephardt amendment, has already persuaded the Japanese to buy Cray supercomputers (which are superior to any Japanese counterparts) and to consider American bids on the multibillion-dollar Osaka airport complex.

The Gephardt bill is not bullying. It is, rather, a belated recognition by Congress that the free trade system is a fiction and that the rule of world market has to be supplemented by conscious management.

Campus revival

AN ADDENDUM TO DAVE WEST'S ARTICLE ON THE revival of left politics on university campuses (ITT, May 20).

Graduate students at the State University of New York at Stony Brook recently concluded a successful struggle against the university administration in which they won: (1) an increase in the basic stipend from \$6,000 to \$7,300; (2) subsidized child care; (3) health insurance; (4) representation on all decision-making bodies in the university dealing with graduate student matters; (5) guidelines that restrict the power of administrators to deal with graduate students arbitrarily, along with a grievance procedure to enforce the guidelines.

The administration initially was unwilling to grant any of these concessions, refusing to recognize the Graduate Student Organi-

zation as a negotiating unit. But a week-long strike, coupled with faculty unwillingness to enforce sanctions against the students, brought the administration to the bargaining table and produced the above results.

The graduate students accomplished this on their own, receiving only token advice and support from the faculty. The tactical skills they manifested, which kept the administration off balance throughout the strike, were produced without the aid of professional organizers. The students know full well that this was only the first round. They are presently measuring their strength against the administration's almost certain counter-blow.

Michael Sprinker
Associate Professor of English
and Comparative Literature, Stony Brook, N.Y.

Impeach?

ON MARCH 5, REP. HENRY GONZALEZ (D-TX) introduced House Resolution 111 calling for the impeachment of Ronald Reagan on the grounds that President Reagan violated the high crimes and misdemeanor clause of our Constitution.

So far the *Texas Observer* has been the only journal to give even minor attention to Rep. Gonzalez's efforts. This is appalling.

When a president violates the Constitution we expect a member of Congress to come forward and defend that document. Most members of Congress dare not utter the word "impeach" unless the tide has completely turned against a president. Not so with Henry Gonzalez. He has introduced H.R. 111 in defiance of Ronald Reagan's popular standing with the mass mob of our country. So why isn't he getting more attention in progressive journals? I am not surprised that the mass media isn't touching this story, but why is the left also avoiding it?

Timothy M. Davis
Dodd City, Texas

Editor's note: We did report on Rep. Gonzalez' impeachment resolution (ITT, April 22). That issue has been studiously avoided by Democrats and Republicans alike, but came up last week, when Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN), chairman of the House Committee investigating contragate, suggested the president may, indeed, be impeachable.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letter—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



Thatcher's Victory

LONDON—If Margaret Thatcher serves out her full third term, by 1992 British children aged 15 and under will have spent their entire lives with this awful woman as prime minister. In the last days of the election campaign, which concluded with the Conservative triumph of June 11, there had been some notion that the Labour Party might have an outside chance of winning, and thus that the swathe of reaction running east from Reagan country across the Atlantic through Thatcher's Britain and Chirac's France to Kohl's West Germany would be eroded by the timid social democracy of Neil Kinnock.

The stalwartly reactionary British press agreed that Kinnock had run a good campaign, by which was meant that the imagery and thematic content of Labour's drive to replace the Conservatives mostly took the form of a decorous personality cult of Mr. and Mrs. Kinnock. This is often referred to as politicking in "the American style." There's actually nothing much new about it. Back in the early '60s British politicians all had their noses deep in the late Theodore White's *The Making of the President*, about the campaign of John F. Kennedy in 1960. This time all the commentators were agog about a 10-minute campaign film about Kinnock and Labour, put together by the director of *Chariots of Fire*. But what the commentators liked was not to the taste of the British electorate, which turned out to be both more Conservative and more radical than the pundits predicted. On the Conservative side of the ledger, Mrs. Thatcher held a majority of more than 100 seats, but simultaneously, for the first time in about half a century, four blacks will be taking seats in Parliament, one of them a woman. Another, Bernie Grant, has been one of the prime demon figures of the British press since he remarked with gratification after a riot a couple of years ago, in which a copper got hacked to death, that "the police got a bloody good hiding." He beat, by 4,000 votes, his racist Conservative opponent who used to taunt Grant, a diabetic, by throwing lumps of sugar at him during Borough Council meetings. A third black, Paul Boateng, won another London seat and rose to acknowledge victory to his cheering supporters by saying that for 400 years black people had gone to Parliament as "humble petitioners," but now, finally, one was going as "a Socialist Tribune." And while the four blacks were winning their majorities, many so-called "hard left"



MARGARET THATCHER

ROTHCO

Labour candidates were racking up victories while prudent "moderates" were taking a beating. I should also note though that Kinnock's Labour Party was committed, in the event of victory, to taking immediate action, within weeks, to get rid both of U.S. bases and of British nuclear systems such as Polaris and Trident. On such a platform, Labour did erode the Conservative margin and also have the pleasure of seeing the Social Democratic Party, staunchly pro a "strong defense," get driven into virtual political extinction.

Blacks did well, Marxists did well and women did well at the polls, but Thatcher and the Conservatives won. Why? As in Reagan's America, there is a swollen underclass and huge unemployment, but also many millions successfully bunkered down in economic prosperity. The Conservatives were fond of pointing out that in the previous five years some 830,000 new small businesses had been formed. Now it is true that some 700,000 of these same small businesses have since failed, but the increment is hotly Thatcherite, preaching the virtues of self-reliance and other iconic themes of the petit bourgeois ethos.

British historian Raphael Samuel points out in a forthcoming essay in *New Left Review* that British left optimism about Thatcher really depends on the "two-camp" theory espoused by the Communist Party and, to a lesser extent, the Labour Party for much of the century. As Samuel explains, "Two-camp theory was a top-down theory

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

of capitalist society rather than one which worked, by molecular processes, from the bottom up. It was premised on the idea of a 'mere handful' of exploiters, standing on what used to be called in Labour Party ideology 'the commanding heights of the economy.' This theory is blind to those alternative lines of capitalist development by which, looking at the early years of primitive accumulation, capitalism renews its vitality by starting from the peripheries rather than the center, the bottom rather than the top, with back-street and backyard entrepreneurs, in what anthropologists in Third World or developing societies call 'penny capitalism.' In the same way, reaction cannot, alas, be ascribed to the manipulations of powerful and interested parties, something engineered from above, but typically rests (like religion) on broader popular foundations. 'People's capitalism' is not an invention of either Mrs. Thatcher or Reaganomics, but is a normal feature not only of back-street enterprise, but also a condition of working-class survival—an alternative to unemployment or the dole."

Thatcher also proffered the largest bribes in British electoral history by selling off—"privatizing"—previously publicly owned enterprises such as British Telecom, the National Gas Industry, British Airways and Rolls Royce, through vastly undervalued share issues. Millions of people who have never directly owned a share in their lives were able to see the value of these shares appreciate rapidly in months, as the undervalued shares issued by the Conservatives rose to reflect their proper value. Similarly the Conservatives turned much rental public housing over to private ownership, so 64 percent of all British occupiers now own their homes.

Moral to those in the U.S. urging support for a "moderate Democrat who can win": in Britain the most successful opponents of Thatcherism-Reaganism were those who did not hide their lights under a bushel or trim to Conservative winds.

The Panama Story

The general view in Britain that the Reagan administration is capable of any villainy has been fortified by the news from Panama. As detailed here, the recently retired Panamanian chief of staff, Col. Roberto Diaz Herrera, has charged that the de facto head of Panama, Defense Force head Gen. Manuel Noriega, conspired with the U.S. to assassinate Noriega's popular predecessor, Omar Torrijos, and rigged the 1984 elections. The colonel also said that Noriega had ordered the killing of Hugo Spadafora, a civilian opposition leader who had accused Noriega of involvement in drug smuggling.

So far as the death of Torrijos, a man unpopular with the Reagan administration, is concerned, Col. Diaz has said that Noriega conspired with CIA agents and with Gen. Wallace Nutting, then head of U.S. Southern Command in Panama, to plant a bomb on Torrijos's plane. Col. Diaz claims that Col. Alberto Purcell, who headed the Panamanian Air Force in 1981 and is now assistant military chief of staff, was paid \$250,000 to put a bomb on the plane, which crashed in 1981, killing everyone on board, including Torrijos. Both the CIA and Nutting have,

naturally, denied the charges.

The reports here do not mention this, but it has been suspected that Spadafora, whose headless body was dumped just inside the Panama border, may have been murdered in Costa Rica not only with the connivance of Noriega but also of the CIA, concerned that his exposés would impair the image of the contras, whose drug-smuggling activities Spadafora had been connecting with Noriega. Noriega was, in fact, on the receiving end of a Reagan administration disinformation campaign in 1986. According to Alfonso Chardy of the *Miami Herald*, a senior Panamanian official has said that Reagan's former national security adviser, Ret. Adm. John Poindexter, asked Noriega for greater cooperation on contra aid during a secret meeting in Panama on Dec. 12, 1985.

The meeting was at Panama City's Omar Torrijos International Airport, and the official said Poindexter got directly to the point. "His attitude was arrogant, conceited and threatening," the official said.

"Toward the end of the conversation, Poindexter's attitude softened, but he did remain cold throughout the session." Poindexter said the U.S. did not appreciate Panama's role in Contadora because it affected U.S. strategies, the official said. Later, he said, Poindexter raised the issue of U.S. anger at Noriega's role in the September 1985 ouster of U.S.-backed Panamanian President Nicolas Ardito-Barletta. The official said Poindexter and other U.S. officials there suggested that Noriega restore Ardito-Barletta to the presidency, then step down himself. The official said that when Ardito-Barletta was still president he had begun "to moderate Panama's presence in Contadora." He added, "Ardito-Barletta did not believe in Contadora." After Poindexter finished, Noriega turned him down, saying he had insulted Panama, the official said.

The Panamanian official told Chardy that after Noriega's statements, Poindexter remained silent for a long time, staring at aides and biting hard on his lit pipe. The official said Noriega, who doesn't smoke, was bothered by the smoke. "It smelled bad, of burning wood," the official said. Within days of Poindexter's return from Panama, he told subordinates that "an alternative" to Noriega needed to be found, officials said.

Poindexter's first anti-Noriega action was approval in January 1986 of an NSC proposal to transfer most of \$40 million in economic aid promised Panama to Guatemala. When the decision was disclosed, U.S. officials attributed the move to budgetary problems.

Poindexter also authorized a campaign to discredit Noriega. Part of the campaign, officials said, was an April appearance before Congress by Undersecretary of State Elliott Abrams, who denounced Panama for money-laundering, drug-trafficking, differences over Nicaragua, relations with Cuba and lack of democracy. Poindexter's aides, including Oliver North and then-NSC Latin American Affairs Director Constantine Menges, also personally briefed several U.S. journalists with information that, while true, was aimed at embarrassing Noriega and signaling to him that the U.S. no longer favored him, the U.S. officials said.

The leaked data led to June stories in the *New York Times* (in a story by Seymour Hersh) and on NBC noting Noriega's alleged involvement in drug-trafficking and money-laundering. The stories also suggested that he had had a role in the death of a prominent opposition Panamanian politician. ■

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By Carlos Cardoso

THE MAY 11 ISSUE OF TIME MAGAZINE had an interesting picture. It showed students of the University of Cape Town protesting the May 6 whites-only election. What was interesting about the photo was one student's placard depicting support for the 600,000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions with the words "Viva COSATU."

Now widely used throughout South Africa alongside the more local freedom cry "Amandla," the word "viva" was adopted by South Africans from Mozambique's and Angola's armed liberation struggles against Portuguese colonialism, both ending in independence in 1975.

At that time I was a student at WITS University in Johannesburg. On countless occasions, I saw how South African blacks felt inspired by the fact that Mozambique's FRELIMO guerrillas had defeated a European army. "If they could do it, so can we," many told me. In 1976, June, the youth of South Africa's biggest black township, Soweto, set the ball rolling into an era of political activity that has now reached pre-insurrection levels.

Moral of the story: any analysis that does not take into account the mutual impact of events in South and Southern Africa is bound to lead to a wrong assessment of what apartheid is all about and to incorrect policies toward that troubled region of Africa.

The staff of the State Department, the National Security Council, the White House and other government bodies in the U.S. seem more aware of Southern African integrated reality than the many people working against apartheid in this country. They have remarkable dedication but a fragmented scenario of Southern Africa in their

Anti-apartheid struggle across all Southern Africa

minds. If the outlook on apartheid among the U.S. solidarity movement, from Randall Robinson to the anonymous activists in the support groups, were regional, I doubt President Reagan could have received UNITA's Jonas Savimbi in the White House in 1976 without provoking massive accusations of siding with apartheid.

Not yet acknowledged in the American solidarity movement—or, if acknowledged, not yet turned into a guiding perspective for action—is that state to state and people to people relations in Southern Africa go way beyond the relative mutual dependence of countries in any other region. Southern Africa is an integrated subsystem. Hence, apartheid cannot be viewed as a political system contained within South Africa's borders. Its vulnerability to events in the region is second only to its vulnerability to the ongoing popular uprisal at home.

This subsystem was created and consolidated in the first 30 to 40 years of this century. Apartheid in South Africa was built upon British rule and cheap black labor from home and from some of the countries of the region. British rule in Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Southern Rhodesia and Nyassaland (later Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Malawi, respectively), plus Portuguese colonial domination of Angola and Mozambique formed a protective shield that helped consolidate a system of relations with South Africa as its epicenter.

Multi-headed cow: By the 1950s that sub-system resembled a cow with many

heads, each a different country of Southern Africa but with its udders in Pretoria. That's where most of the milk and honey flowed to. In other words, the interests of the white minority in power in South Africa were now rooted within and outside the country's borders. This regionally-based economic interest is at the very heart of South Africa's current rampant militarism in the area as a whole.

Throughout the last 25 years, defense of apartheid has been two-fold: repression at home and military intervention in the region. Why this second aspect? Because by the early '60s Portuguese and British colonialism, and white rule in South Africa, were no longer the only forces shaping political and social realities in the area. Part of the initiative was being seized by independence parties in Tanzania and Zambia, as well as by liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe).

From its Tanzanian rearguard FRELIMO's nationalist guerrillas pushed into Mozambique and by 1966 had established semi-liberated zones, moving more and more to the south as the years went by. By 1972, Zimbabwean ZANU fighters had found sanctuary in FRELIMO-controlled areas of Tete province from whence they took their fight into Rhodesia's northeast. After Mozambique's independence in 1975 the country applied UN sanctions on Rhodesia and turned three of its provinces into direct rearguards for ZANU guerrillas who opened new fronts all over the east, northeast and southern areas of Rhodesia. In 1978, FRELIMO's FPLM army joined the Zimbabweans inside Rhodesia.

Likewise, Zambia was a rearguard for ZAPU fighters who operated mainly in Rhodesia's Ndebele-speaking areas.

Continuing support: Today, the anti-apartheid struggle inside South Africa has considerable support from the countries of the region. And South Africa's anti-apartheid organizations welcome the weakening of Pretoria's army in its regional interventions, mainly in Angola.

In short, the integration of the region under the aegis of Portuguese and British colonialism and South African white minority rule was further strengthened by a regional perspective on the part of the liberation movements.

By 1975 the heads of government of the front line states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, joined by Zimbabwe after its independence in 1980) were meeting regularly to strategize about liberation in Zimbabwe. Many decisions taken by each government followed tactics and strategies formulated during front line meetings.

In March 1980 Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF won Zimbabwe's independence elections and on April 1 a new grouping was born: the Southern Africa Coordination Conference (SADCC) bringing together the nine majority-ruled states of the region.

The past and present existence of "common enemies" (Portuguese colonialism,

white minority rule in Rhodesia and apartheid in South Africa), which had done so much for regional political and military unity was now supplemented by a further unifying factor. SADCC aimed at reducing the region's dependence on South Africa's transport system and sought new levels of regional economic integration unmediated by South Africa or by South African-based Western subsidiaries.

A history of engagement: By 1965, South African soldiers were fighting alongside Portuguese troops against FRELIMO in Mozambique's northern provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado. A year later, the South African army joined the Portuguese and the newly formed UNITA group in fighting the MPLA in Angola. In 1972, South African soldiers once more fought FRELIMO, now in Tete province side by side with Portuguese and Rhodesian troops. In July 1975, four months before the independence of Angola, South Africa invaded it, turning UNITA into a full-fledged surrogate force. Between 1975 and the end of 1979, South Africa helped Rhodesia's army fight the combined forces of ZANU, ZAPU and some 2,000 Mozambican soldiers inside Rhodesia. During this period South African pilots helped Rhodesia bomb targets inside Mozambique. After 1980, South Africa took over the MNR from Rhodesia, turning it fully into the major component of its military destabilization of Mozambique through generalized terrorism.

The phrase "South Africa supported UNITA and MNR" has been widely used, but I feel it does not portray the situation correctly. Let me illustrate this point with two examples:

In 1983 the South African army needed to take over Cangamba, a small desert stronghold of the MPLA's FAPLA forces in the southern province of Cuando-Cubango. Cangamba was defended primarily by a ring of mine fields around FAPLA positions. The South African officers commanding the operation sent UNITA's men into the mine fields; 1,100 of them died. In November 1986, following a 4,000-man MNR invasion of Zambezia and Tete provinces in Mozambique from bases in Malawi, South Africa decided some small towns had to be taken so that the MNR would appear to be capable of defeating government forces. One of the towns attacked, and occupied for a few hours, was Ulongue in Tete province. They came in company open formation. More than 100 were killed by a small FPLM force.

In short, both UNITA and the MNR are used as cannon fodder. That depicts the highest possible form of control, to the extent that there is nothing anyone in the MNR or UNITA can do to stop South Africa's racism applied to themselves.

Color obfuscates the issue in Southern Africa. The MNR and UNITA are composed mainly by Mozambican and Angolan blacks. So what? Their role is to die so that South African white soldiers do not have to die. That would force Pieter Botha's government to negotiate an end to apartheid.

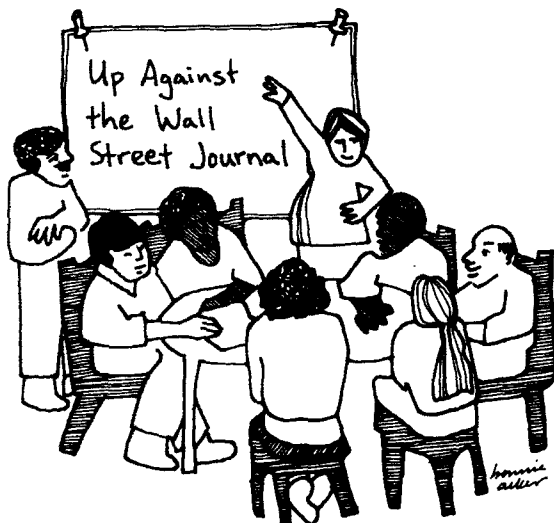
But color confuses the issue and South Africa has—too often, successfully—portrayed the situation inside its borders as "black-on-black" violence, and the situation in the region as "civil wars."

Carlos Cardoso is director of the Mozambique News Agency in Maputo.

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Medium cool: behind the myths of mass communication

Misunderstanding Media

By Brian Winston
Harvard University Press, 424 pp., \$22.50

By Pat Aufderheide

IN THIS ACERBICALLY ARGUED, METICULOUSLY RESEARCHED BOOK, COMMUNICATIONS SCHOLAR AND TELEVISION PRODUCER BRIAN WINSTON GOES IN SEARCH OF THE INFORMATION REVOLUTION. AND HE DOESN'T FIND IT.

What he discovers instead is something far more interesting: a popular rhetoric of future shock, contrasted with an actual history, in telecommunications technology, of slow evolution running along the lines of greatest corporate interest. What corporations are most interested in is consolidating returns from proven profit-makers—not bright, new, destabilizing gizmos.

Winston's main argument, once stated, is obvious. Technology doesn't make revolutions, people do. "The suggested inevitable social upheaval [in technological innovation] seldom makes enough difference for the secretary in the new electronic office not to be a woman, and her boss a man," he says. Winston's argument and book title are a direct response to Marshall McLuhan's influential *Understanding Media*. Although Winston is reframing the discussion of mass communications, he makes his argument not merely at a conceptual level. Instead, he tackles technological determinism on its own turf, performing historical excavation to discover the reality behind our high-tech myths of techno-invention and info-revolution.

In the history of television, computers, transistors, satellites and telephones, historical detail adds up to a pattern, which Winston gingerly calls a theory, one that he dubs a cousin to Thomas Kuhn's paradigm-shift model of scientific revolutions.

Scientific competence—the notion of how to do it—is the necessary precursor to technological innovation. Then perhaps centuries later comes the prototype, triggered by some necessity, typically one generated and tied to other major societal changes. Railroads, for example, made telegraphy (proposed in the 17th century) a plausible business. New-style battleships later called forth the need for radio transmissions, and 19th-century offices in a sense demanded typewriters. More recently, the post-World War II growth of television was spurred by excess capacity in the electronics industry, which had bur-

geoned with war contracts, just as radio gained from the same situation after World War I.

A series of discoveries usually results in one experimenter piggybacking on them, then opportunistically claiming heroic "inventor" status. In the final stage of production comes the whammy. That's when vested interests seize upon the "radical potential" of the technology and suppress it in the interests of corporate stability and control. For instance, the potential of telephones to link up many terminals at once, rather than simply one-on-one, was initially stifled, only to re-emerge decades later as an expensive special service.

Mind over machine: Winston, blessed with a capacity to understand the technical underpinnings of the industry and armed with a deep education in the humanities, asks questions that burn like sharp sunlight through the clouds of pseudo-sociology in communica-

tions theory. His discussion of television and its claims to revolutionize expression points to the really striking feature of mass audiovisual culture: its firm roots in "the addiction to realism which characterizes all systems of representation within our culture." That, linked with the drive toward homogenization in mass consumer sales strategies, adds up to consistent banality over the history of TV programming. Even the advent of the VCR—which is what finally changed viewer habits, not cable as the telecom futurologists had predicted—didn't make a dent in that pattern.

He explains the slow development of computers—the technological idea for which existed as early as 1632, with desk calculators—by a Western philosophical commitment to the mind/body distinction. A thinking machine was simply inconceivable until 20th-century innovations in pure mathematics carved out other ways of thinking about

thinking.

Grand and familiar assertions about our engineering-obsessed society get turned crisply around. What are we doing with all that information the info-revolution has supposedly brought us? Winston suggests we're simply unloading what isn't handy. (A recent *60 Minutes* report showing that many adults lack knowledge of basic geography and fail to recognize such figures as Albert Schweitzer reinforces Winston's claims: in a classroom, adults asked why such information would be in the least important to them.) Has technology accelerated the rate of change in our society? It may be slowing it down, the author impudently suggest; more planning and more investment in large systems means slower turnaround. And are we getting more inventions per year? Not necessarily, says Winston; industrial labs—and Bell Labs is the key example—work as much to protect the market from disruptive new products as they do to bring forth innovation.

And yet, you want to say, things sure seemed different when I was a kid. Nothing in *Misunderstanding*

Media denies that. Winston's just asking us not to explain the differences on the basis of whiz-bang hardware that gets used for the same purposes as before, or (once its possibility for truly changing our lives has been carefully wiped out) in the service of change that it didn't make necessary.

According to Winston, there are no videophones in our future. Videophones have been around, in possibility, since 1931, but there's no real commercial advantage in

MEDIA

them. But plenty of other stuff is in our future, and that, finally, is what Winston is worried about.

He thinks the theology of info-revolution dangerously obscures for us the forces that control and constrain our lives. And that's why he's been down in the archives for years trying to demystify the process. Let him have the final word: "Whatever the future holds, we cannot hope to come to terms with it on the basis of our current widespread ignorances of our immediate technological past." ■

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A watchdog learns to love his leash

Hold On, Mr. President!

By Sam Donaldson
Random House, 260 pp., \$17.95

By Lynn Travers

BY REPUTATION, SAM DONALDSON is a relentless and adversarial White House correspondent. The current Iran-contra affair serves as a reminder why such reporters are essential to the public: when presidential words and presidential actions conflict, it falls on those covering the White House to point out the discrepancies. Yet the White House press corps did not first uncover contragate, and the Sam Donaldson revealed in his book, *Hold On, Mr. President!*, is not nearly the bold inquisitor one might expect.

To be sure, Donaldson does challenge some of the strictures placed on the press by Ronald Reagan's handlers. He shouts questions at the arriving or departing president over the whirring of helicopters deliberately kept running to make such queries difficult; he violates the established etiquette of photo opportunities, usually no-questions-allowed affairs. But while Donaldson's tone may be harsh and his manner brash, his tactics serve Reagan more than challenge him.

It's difficult to tell what the veteran ABC correspondent was trying to accomplish with this book. He



Ronald Reagan and Sam Donaldson: Is this what they call "networking"?

blends personal and professional stories with political opinions in an inoffensive mix. Donaldson shows himself to be second only to the president in terms of anecdotalism, but recounts his tales with an obvious relish that can be entertaining.

Opportunity knocks: Donaldson predictably spends much of the book's early sections describing his life before stardom. Of particular

interest is Donaldson's recounting of his early days at the then-fledgling ABC network. Initially disenchanted with the network's news department, which was at the time much poorer and smaller than its counterparts at NBC and CBS, Donaldson soon found within these limitations an opportunity. "It dawned on me that since we were so small, and so poor, it meant that I had a

greater chance to advance."

He landed plum assignments quickly, and the shortage of good producers at ABC allowed Donaldson considerable freedom in shooting and airing his reports. Such autonomy, particularly for a novice, is virtually unknown at the networks today. (Donaldson lists many producers and department executives who are now usually in-

volved in day-to-day network news decision-making: "field producers, senior producers, executive producers, and, perhaps, department vice presidents.")

Despite his own success without these layers of bureaucracy, Donaldson asserts that the present, more structured conditions that prevail in network news departments are superior to those that reigned when he began his career. Curiously, he then offers neither example nor argument to support his preference. For someone whose job it is to pose questions to the powerful, Donaldson in this case seems only too willing to accept the status quo.

He also demonstrates corporate allegiance elsewhere, at one point fawning over his boss, Roone Arledge, president of ABC news. If Donaldson is pleased with his employer that is all well and good, but little purpose is served the reader by such extended praise. Further, when Donaldson chooses to criticize his former network colleagues, such as Harry Reasoner or Max Robinson, he almost invariably attacks them for having let down ABC in some way. The effects their actions may or may not have had on the news "product" are of secondary consideration here, as is the impact on the viewing audience.

At the president's heels: Donaldson rarely focuses on the quality of White House press corps reportage. Some have suggested that the audience might be better informed if reporters on the presidential beat spent less time in the press room and following the president on his daily rounds and more time developing in-depth stories to set the administration's actions in a broader context. Arledge himself asked Donaldson why a less seasoned reporter couldn't cover routine events. Donaldson tells us "Arledge hasn't raised that proposal once since the day Reagan was shot"—which took place after an otherwise unnoteworthy appearance. But why not? The events of that day certainly explain why reporters follow the president's every move, but they supply no compelling reason for the commitment of the networks' and newspapers' best resources to the most mundane reporting. By so encumbering themselves, the press corps virtually guarantees predictable presidential news stories.

Donaldson also doesn't lose much sleep over the fact that many of the questions he throws at Reagan receive inadequate answers, or none at all. This in itself may seem of little consequence. While Donaldson enjoys trying to sneak in a question and appears to take true delight when the president offers a substantive reply, the reporter more often serves the president with his inquiries than he does his audience. In the context of the presidential media spectacle, the ever-audible, ever-badgering Sam helps deflect charges that Reagan is iso-

lated from the press and the public. Who, after hearing so many of those barked-out demands for information, might not be tempted to think that Reagan spends plenty of time with the press? Certainly a fair portion of the nation's voters was fooled, at least for a time.

Surely Donaldson has learned more in 10 years at the White House than he shows us in this book. But

if *Hold On, Mr. President!* is flawed, its weaknesses are the weaknesses seen in the White House press corps as a whole. The fact that Donaldson must write about his current employer didn't make things any easier. There may yet be hope, however, for Donaldson's future work.

He claims to be ready to break away from the White House beat but

can't yet put his finger on what he would like to do next. He may have supplied his own answer in his recounting of his tenure as an interviewer and roundtable participant on *This Week with David Brinkley*. Donaldson has taken some heat for expressing his own opinions on that show each Sunday and then returning to his beat as an objective reporter the next day. Were he no longer

tethered to daily reportorial duties, Donaldson would be free to evaluate the president's actions rather than just describe them. Perhaps he could devote some of his energies to finding more outlets for such analysis than now exist; if his relationship with his boss at ABC is as rosy as he would have one believe, he should have no problem making the pitch. ■

**Inventing Reality:
Politics and the Mass Media**
By Michael Parenti
St. Martin's, 258 pp., \$16.95

By Michael Intintoli

WHEN THE NUMBER OF American tourists visiting Europe dropped sharply recently, Europeans could not understand why. If they had been exposed to American media they would have understood. America, they would have learned, is the target of an international terrorist conspiracy. America's traditional communist enemies had joined with "outlaw terrorist states" such as Iran and Libya. Danger was everywhere.

American media equated the most disparate acts as terrorism, from an attack on U.S. Marines in El Salvador to the abduction of Americans in Lebanon. The evidence, it seemed, was overwhelming. Americans were safe nowhere. Such was the invented reality that struck fear into the hearts of Americans. Could the Europeans blame them?

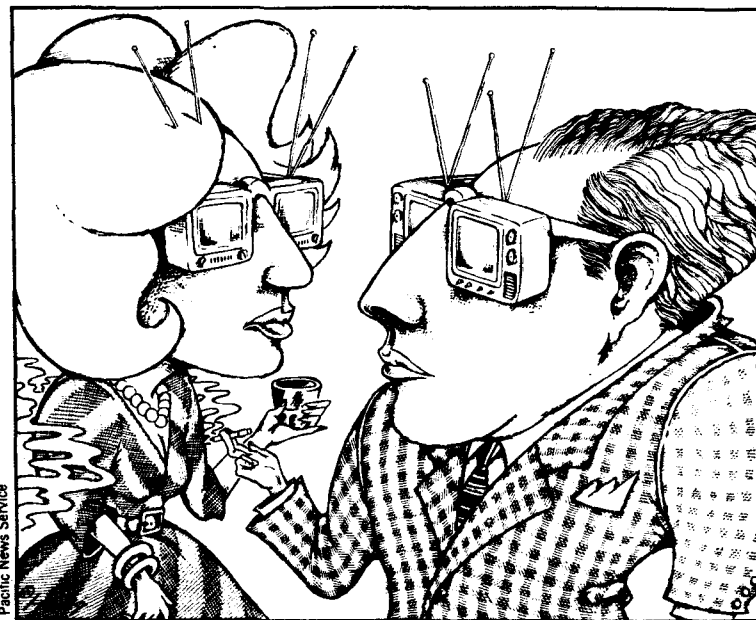
The manufactured menaces of communism and terrorism are two of the themes in Michael Parenti's *Inventing Reality*, a lucid, biting critique of the distorted coverage of political and social issues in mainstream U.S. media.

Reminiscent of Herbert Schiller's *The Mind Managers* (1973), *Inventing Reality* is popular and passionate in style and uncompromising in its media analysis. The message of both books is that American minds are managed by an invented reality. Parenti, however, has the advantage (and tragedy) of over a decade more invented reality to explore. He draws upon a sea of journalistic and academic research to expose the ideological underpinnings of the media.

Meaningless and mystifying: Parenti notes how media researchers and journalists often tend to avoid critical linkages. By and large, what they provide are isolated and fragmented bits of information that are either meaningless or mystifying, or both. Academics, like journalists, avoid making sense of things, particularly when making sense goes against the dominant reality. They often avoid taking a clear stand. Parenti has no such inhibitions.

He emphasizes the economic and political constraints under which journalists and academics

Papering over a mess: objectivity becomes a class act



operate. Parenti spells out the recurring patterns of systemic media distortions and highlights the role that ideology and class power take in shaping what passes for reality.

Parenti deftly discounts the most frequent explanations for the poor quality of news. He doesn't blame journalists or their training. Nor does he simply raise the convenient scapegoat of time or space for adequate coverage; commercial success requires that news be visual, personalistic, dramatic, simplistic and stereotyped. Parenti views these typical explanations as mere excuses for the status quo.

What is particularly crucial for the perpetuation of the present media system is the widespread belief that the media are objective, unbiased, balanced and fair.

Self-replicating ideology: Parenti counters such myths with the old saw that freedom of the press belongs to the man who owns one. The trick, as he sees it, is to disguise this fact. Media are big business: they make profits, but they also play a role in replicating the social structure and ideology protecting their interests. Class interests must be made to appear as reflective of the general interest and media institutions must be made to appear neutral. The aura of neutrality, objectivity and fairness is vital in creating and maintaining the fiction of a free press.

Attacks from the right claiming

liberal bias make it appear that the press is doing its job and also make it easier to dismiss left-wing critical perspectives. The left is marginalized and implicitly made to seem extremist at the same time that an illusion of a free press is created.

It is also important for maintenance of the illusion that conflict within media organizations be minimized and noncoercive means of control be employed. The socialization into, and sharing of, a political and professional ideology by media workers, along with anticipatory self-censorship not only help minimize conflict but also make the conflict itself marginal. When conflicts do surface they can be interpreted as exceptions to a generally harmonious pattern.

There are limits to the power of the media, however. They are constrained by that other reality. They cannot completely ignore popular experience and can't always control where stories will lead, witness what is labeled the "Iran-contra affair." At other times there are conflicts among members of the elite or there are contradictory "messages" that provide openings for critical reflection.

Ripping official reality: There are also occasions when official reality is abruptly changed and its arbitrary nature becomes evident. When (Red) China was a menace, it seemed to be a country of shades

of gray. It was a place of unrelieved gloom, of regimented hordes of nondescript people in dull Chairman Mao uniforms. Once the U.S. government decided China was no longer a menace, it burst upon the American public in full color. It was abruptly peopled by smiling individuals, happy families and courteous leaders (who really knew how to throw a party). New images and information were generated or allowed to predominate as U.S. geopolitical strategy led to an alteration of reality.

Yet, Parenti remarks, "...anticommunism can change its direction and its targets but it can never be put to rest for it is a necessary component in making it safe for corporate capitalism both at home and abroad." Media coverage of Central America, and of Nicaragua, in particular, is the most intense current expression of this theme. Only infrequently does any positive information about the Nicaraguan government and its policies reach the American public. Anything positive is "balanced" with something negative so that the media can claim to be "objective." Or simple facts that counter the U.S. government orchestrated reality are carefully avoided. For instance, many Americans would be surprised to know that Western nations provide substantial aid to Nicaragua, often intentionally countering U.S. strategy.

The distortions and omissions in media coverage of popular and revolutionary movements, of socialist and communist societies, of the range of political positions on the left are intimately tied to the constraints placed on our consideration of alternatives within the U.S. The media's "power to determine the issue agenda, the information flow and the parameters of political debate so that it extends from ultra-right to no further than moderate center is if not total, still totally awesome."

Many readers will doubtless be familiar with the general outline of Parenti's argument. But the author, in his exacting detail, enlivens the intimate connection between the struggle to create a more just society here (and abroad) and the mediated character of our understanding. Parenti counters the mainstream media's pervasive and misleading "climate of opinion" with a sustained, well-documented and lively primer. ■

Michael Intintoli is an associate professor at New Jersey's Burlington County College.

Yes, It Does Make a Difference

It's hard to see what isn't there, but we're beginning to get the picture. When regulators five years ago started lifting the pressure on broadcasters to produce public-service and children's programming, news, public affairs and noncommercial kids' shows started to dwindle. But since Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) deregulation included lifting record-keeping requirements, this trend has been hard to document. The May *Channels of Communication* uses an ingenious measure of loss: the annual Peabody Awards for distinguished work in broadcasting. From America's 10,000 radio stations, this year the Peabody solicitation netted a total of 40 responses, only one of them a children's show. Where 10 years ago a third of all radio entries were public-service, it's now down to a tenth. Five years ago, one in seven TV entries was entertainment, and one in four was news; now entertainment shows rival news entries, which have declined to one in five. Meanwhile, Radio-TV News Directors Association reports bolster *Channels'* conclusions that public affairs is suffering from deregulation. They show that many radio stations are replacing full-time news staff with part-timers, and a significant minority of radio and TV news directors say that deregulation has cut back news coverage locally.

Hello, Dolly; Goodbye News

TV network schedule-juggling also reinforces the conclusion that marketplace logic is unhealthy for news. ABC, bottoming out in the ratings, has found a solution to the Thursday night "Cosby" challenge on rival NBC: drop the historical news show *Our World*, program the Sunday movie against Cosby, get Dolly Parton to do a variety show on Sunday night and move the news-feature show *20/20* to lesser-watched time slot Friday night. *Our World* co-anchor Linda Ellerbee (deserving recipient of Martyr to Deregulation award, having now crashed with two excellent TV public-affairs shows) wanted to know where was the commitment to news and public affairs that network execs had pledged to Congress only weeks before. At the bottom of the pile of shareholders reports, obviously.

Sending a Message

Last month Congress sent the FCC the strongest possible message about deregulation: enough, already. A reaffirmation of the Fairness Doctrine—that mild-mannered rule that broadcasters must air controversial issues fairly—sailed through the House of Representatives in a solidly bipartisan 301/102 vote. (It had already passed the Senate by a substantial majority.) Opponents had decried the bill as censorship, although it merely reaffirms a 53-year-old practice, leaves the initiative to community groups and the solution to broadcasters, and rarely comes before the FCC (six cases a year). Proponents noted that broadcasters (unlike newspaper publishers) hold a monopoly grip on a publicly-owned resource, and that the audience's First Amendment rights take precedence over the broadcaster's. If Reagan vetoes the bill now he'll anger the likes of Phyllis Schlafly, Reed Irvine and Pat Buchanan, all of whom know the advantage to them (like any other partisan) in balanced programming. And he'll blow scarce political capital, only to see either an override or a version of the bill get tacked on to other legislation.

Commercials As Culture

You may remember Ernest (actor Jim Varney), the clumsy dingbat who lunges into the fish-eye lens in TV commercials. The populist icon is now the star of one of the season's box-office hits, *Ernest Goes to Camp*. Ernest brought with him a fan club of 20,000 young people, who boast his image on T-shirts and towels. Like Max Headroom and Strawberry Shortcake, Ernest's a clue to the way that advertising is defining not only market terms but content, character and language in our popular culture. He's a schlub for our time. While Ernest may be in the lead, other marketing strategies are a tip-off to the power of commercial-culture. Some corporations have turned over their brand-names to new product lines: Winnebago tents and backpacks, Astroturf shoes, Hershey's chocolate milk, Coca Cola and McKid's (a McDonald's line) clothes. And on TV, the distinction between commercials and programs is ever fuzzier, with names like "Eastern" and "Hyatt" dropped into sitcoms and soaps in return for in-kind services during production. The plugs, besides being a convenient way of cutting the production budget, might even be seen as heightening the naturalism of the programs in a brand-name-happy culture.

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IN THE ARTS



FILM

A devil-may-care coven: Cher, Susan Sarandon and Michelle Pfeiffer.

Unsympathetic magic in black and white

The Witches of Eastwick

Directed by George Miller

The Believers

Directed by John Schlesinger

By Pat Aufderheide

TWO SUMMER MOVIES FOR adults, *The Witches of Eastwick* and *The Believers*, take magic as their subject and do their damndest to bewitch us. It's not a pretty sight.

The Witches of Eastwick, based on the novel by John Updike, mutes the implications of his fairy tale set in WASP-land, but the theme is still clear: the diabolical tension between men and women.

Three bored women (played by Cher, Susan Sarandon and Michelle Pfeiffer) are mourning their maleless state in a tidy New England town, where Puritanism and professional culture have created a spiritually barren landscape. Cher is a sculptress of fertility figures; Sarandon plays a stifled musician; Pfeiffer plays the hyperfertile mother of six girls. They accidentally conjure up their dreamboat (Jack Nicholson), the mysterious Daryl Van Horne, who cheerfully describes himself as "a horny little devil." He's as bewitched by them as he is diabolically destructive of their well-ordered lives. Although

the women eventually manage to exorcise the devilish dreamboat (and set themselves up as a matriarchy in his mansion), he exacts his own biological revenge.

George Miller, the Australian director who delivered the *Mad Max* series, mounts the tale as an upscale sex fantasy. The town of Eastwick is cloyingly clean, bright light suffusing the comfortably padded lives of its residents (none of whom seem to do more than putter around for a living). Van Horne's

The movie, like the book, takes its revenge on those complaining feminists who want a New Man by giving Him to them. The film ought to be a revel in wantonness, but *The Witches of Eastwick* is too big and clunky to work. The script has its moments of humor—Nicholson is given every standard New Male line of the last two decades, and they've never sounded more pretentious. But it's also got leaden exposition. The film's look is coffee-table-book glossy; opulence takes the place of wit. The lumbering pace matches the tepid special effects.

Most of all, the film lacks the fundamental tension between passion and propriety. When life is as empty as it seems in Eastwick, it's hard to

***Witches of Eastwick* lacks the fundamental tension between passion and propriety. When life is as empty as it seems in Eastwick, it's hard to get worked up by the notion of evil.**

palace of sin is stacked with images drawn from the extravagance of the upper class of late empires, from Roman to British. The actors indulge themselves within this fantasy of self-indulgence. Nicholson's trademark performance once again attaches his name and face to the concept "lascivious." Each of the three women takes a collection of clichés about women's witchery and makes them flesh; as sex objects, they're highly mobile.

get worked up about the notion of evil entering it. The trouble and the fun that devilry brings to it is merely mildly diverting, like the movie.

Would you believe... *The Believers* gives you an idea of why those nice people in Eastwick never leave town. It's because the streets of the City are filled with brown and black people who run an occult underworld. Directed by quality-hack John Schlesinger, it's an incoherent, murky mess of a movie,

more alarming for its patent racism than for any of its shocker scenes.

The Believers, like *Angel Heart* (and, in minor scenes, *True Stories* and *Something Wild*), exoticizes the religious practices of the black diaspora. And it misses not a chance to roll out clichés. Martin Sheen plays, with his suffering-Christ act, the newly-widowed psychotherapist who comes to New York from Minneapolis with his son. He gets caught in a web of intrigue among black and Hispanic practitioners of *santeria* and corrupt whites who draw their power from them.

The religious practices of the black diaspora have many expressions, but they all share at least one aspect: they are not focused, as in the Christian tradition, on salvation. They instead invoke a connection with ever-present spiritual forces, both for communion and in an instrumental way. In Christianity, instrumental access to the world of the spirit is witchcraft. And that's how *The Believers* shows *santeria*.

As in *Angel Heart*, what's so diabolical is not the practice of *santeria* itself, but the crossing over between races, classes and cultures. Decayed, corrupt and rich whites seize on the forbidden power that *The Other* holds, and use it to build (no kidding here) real estate empires, political clout and fortunes.

Black-market voodoo: The racial hierarchy is explicit: the agents of evil are black and African (the whole trouble, see, started in the Sudan). The practitioners of *santeria* who want to channel those forces for good are Hispanic. The prime beneficiaries of evil are white, as is the potential victim, the little boy Chris (Harley Cross).

Carla Pinza, who plays the housekeeper trying to protect Chris, is herself a *santeria*. "It was important to me to clear up the confusion surrounding my faith," she explained in press materials. "*Santeria* is...a positive force, a practical force, for helping people—physically and spiritually—through the gods."

Let's hope Carla Pinza doesn't have to go to a public screening. Because that's not what audiences are getting out of *The Believers*. They're seeing a version of *santeria* that tells them it's rooted in human sacrifice, primitive and dangerous. And more: that it's a dangerous game to get down with the underclass, where primal rhythms and primitive practices shatter cool rationality. And possibly even more than that: that the problems of corrupt power can ultimately be laid at the altar of the *santeros*.

But it may not be easy for audiences even to get the message, given the tangled plot and cornball execution. They may settle for the simple shock value of tarantulas crawling up telephone cords and ants and snakes infesting human bodies. Or better yet, they might stay home.

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Promoting a documentary cause

By Joan Friedberg

YOU'VE SEEN *PLATOON*, AND PERHAPS you've seen *Salvador*, but have you wondered why you haven't seen any films about Nicaragua?

According to Barbara Trent, co-producer of the award-winning *Destination Nicaragua* and director of the Empowerment Project in Los Angeles, there are at least 100 excellent documentaries on Central America (Icarus Films' catalog alone lists 15 films on Nicaragua), and yet most of them will never be

Trent, an activist turned filmmaker, sees film primarily as a political tool. She and co-director David Kasper have made the Empowerment Project a resource center to help filmmakers explore distribution options that will get their films to a wide audience.

The reel thing: Trent has produced a half-hour promotional clip reel that shows about three minutes each of several independent, mostly political documentaries. It features, among other things, three minutes about the war in Nicaragua, three minutes about Ron Kovich, the disabled Vietnam War veteran-activist, three minutes touring the makeshift shelters of homeless people and the subsequent bulldozing of their shelters, and three minutes profiling a black woman who, with charm, wisdom and pride, describes her job of unofficial restroom attendant.

The clip reel is a teaser of coming attractions that may never reach any theater. Nor will you likely see most of them on television.

"Most films do not get distributed," says Michael Donnelly, a film

buff who has spent the last 15 years working in the production, distribution and exhibition of alternative films. "It's unreasonable to expect that every picture can get distributed. Theaters aren't doing all that well, and the market for documentaries has fallen away."

Destination nowhere: For Trent and co-producer David Kasper, the concept of *Destination Nicaragua* was to follow Witness for Peace delegates from the U.S. as they discover first-hand the effects of our government's foreign policy on the Nicaraguan people. But the producers soon found that making the film

DISTRIBUTION

was only half the battle. Upon completing the film the two discovered the many pitfalls of distribution.

Los Angeles PBS station KCET declined to air the award-winning documentary, citing its lack of objectivity. Trent and Kasper kept pushing, however, until PBS affiliates in 20 states and Puerto Rico aired the film. And Trent, through personal fund-raising efforts, was able to sponsor two successful theater openings in Los Angeles and Burlington, Vt., with another planned for Phoenix in September. Needless to say, carrying out such a national promotion remains beyond the means of most filmmakers.

Trent discovered that though a handful of mail-order distributors would carry Central American documentaries, there were many problems. In Trent's opinion, censorship of "progressive" films extends beyond television to the school film catalogs. To make her point, she

will screen, for anyone who is curious, the only Central American film from one of the better school catalogs.

The film has high production values, a professional look, and even paints a positive portrait of the Sandinista government. But, as Trent points out, "The film fails to mention the war; it fails to mention that 12,000 people have been killed by contras in the last four years; and it fails to mention that there are U.S. trade sanctions against Nicaragua. Somewhere along the line, the film has been censored. The high school kids who could be sent down there to fight the war are being 'protected' from knowing what the war is all about...or even that it exists at all."

Economic censorship: Aside from the political censorship, there is a kind of economic censorship. The average price to purchase a half-inch format video through these catalogs is about \$250, and some go for as high as \$600. At these prices, a few schools and libraries might bite, but the mass audience the filmmakers want to reach will never see these films.

Secondly, all of these distributors demand *all* the rights in *all* markets, except television. An illuminating case history is the award-winning film, *In the Name of Democracy*, produced and directed by Pamela Cohen and Jose Ponce. In the first five or six months after its release, Cohen handled the distribution herself with remarkable success for a first-time filmmaker. Through fortuitous timing, the film, which documents the 1984 elections in El Salvador, was aired on KCET just as those elections were coming under scrutiny in the press, and Cohen was able to get the piece shown on stations in San Francisco and Colorado as well.

After this burst of success, Cohen turned the film over to the mail-order house Cinema Guild, who priced it at \$300 for sale and \$50 for rental. In the year and a half since then, the film has had only eight sales and 29 rentals.

Trent tried marketing her own film in the home video market through a contract with Rhino Records. But, though Rhino agreed to market the video, and though sales were enough to break even, a mass market breakthrough never happened.

"We find resistance from retailers on any video product that isn't a hit movie," says Rhino's Richard Foos. "There is some market, small as it may be, for this type of film. We are proud that we could put this out and make it available, but the bottom line is: we can't handle a film if it won't sell."

"[Home] video is possibly the best way to go," says Michael Donnelly. "The film market today is a youth market. During the '60s and '70s there was a market in theaters

for the documentary film, but today television is the province of the 'issue' film."

Donnelly points out that home video has an obvious advantage over broadcast television for controversial or advocacy films: no one can censor what you watch on your VCR. And with 42 percent of American living rooms now sporting a VCR, the market remains virtually untapped.

A San Francisco peace group, Future Visions, hopes to capitalize on this void by creating a new company to market peace, social justice and documentary films in video rental stores. Future Visions' promotional flier states, "The home video market presents an obvious opportunity for documentary film to finally break out of the low-volume, high-price, school and library ghetto." Future Visions also plans to market their films via direct mail as well as through peace organizations and other non-traditional film retail outlets, such as bookstores.

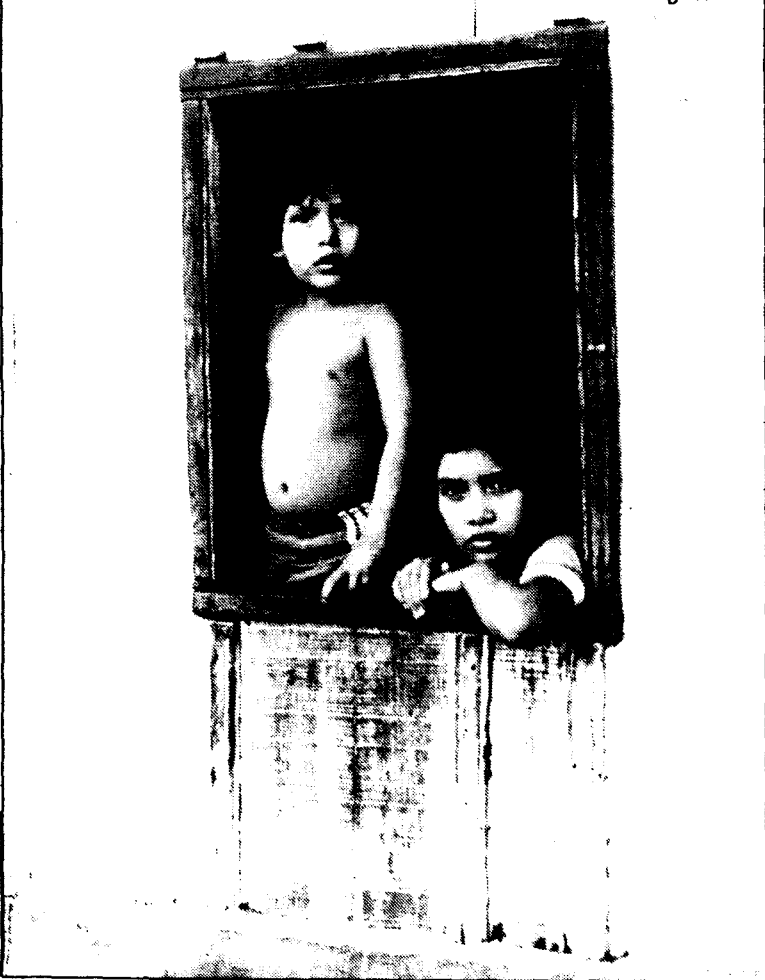
Open-door policy: Trent's Empowerment Project has already opened some doors for several other filmmakers. The Empowerment Project does not distribute the films directly, but rather acts as a resource center for the filmmaker, promotes the films to a variety of distribution channels, and takes a percentage of the royalties earned through its efforts.

Pamela Cohen, working with the project, has just released her third film, *Dateline San Salvador*. The Empowerment Project has helped her acquire seven successful placements for it, among them a television distributor for the European market, and four others that distribute to educational institutions. Although it takes a tremendous amount of time and work to self-distribute, "it's proving itself," says Cohen. "I now have a different attitude than I did before," she admits. "I now know how to get the film seen."

Through the Empowerment Project's efforts, two regional PBS networks have each accepted two new titles that were recently represented to the rest of the affiliates in June. The four films were beamed by satellite to all the nation's PBS stations. Three of the four are about Nicaragua. In addition to the Empowerment Project's own film, *Destination Nicaragua*, and Pam Cohen's *Dateline San Salvador*, the offerings include *Vacation Nicaragua*, directed by Anita Clearfield, and *In the Shadow of War*, by Jackie Reiter and Wolf Tirado.

There is, of course, a bit of irony in this. The satellite technology that's bringing you *Star Wars* may also bring you the films that *Star Wars*' strongest proponents would probably prefer you didn't see. **Joan Friedberg** is a Los Angeles-based freelance writer. Those interested in recent Central American films can contact the Film Distribution Center in Seattle, (206) 575-1575.

A grassroots distribution network aids films like *Destination Nicaragua*.



Big Science

Continued from page 24

that the "weakest link in science and engineering in this country is people. There is no money to make people scientists."

Kleppner would like to see more money spent on basic science, especially "in areas of small science that are closest to applications," such as materials science and optics.

Ironically, the SSC was sold partly with arguments about applications, though its importance to the physics community stems largely from its expected contributions to physics theory. The Department of Energy's sales job to the White House included, according to *Physics Today*, an appeal to the connection between high-energy physics and technology.

The SSC, Energy Secretary John Herrington told reporters when announcing President Reagan's support, "will have spinoffs, discoveries and innovations that

will profoundly touch every human being. This is a clear sign that we are committed to keeping this nation at the cutting edge of world leadership and competitiveness."

Few scientists would bet that the SSC won't have some useful spinoffs. But does it make sense to pledge billions on the strength of hoped-for applications? In addition, proponents of the SSC pledged to make it an international project. Yet now they talk of restoring U.S. leadership in particle physics and say, "Contribute to our machine."

Big science is as much politics as science and the SSC is no exception. How has the SSC managed to win broad support?

Pork-barrel support: Whichever state wins the SSC will get a 10-year construction project. It will get 2,500 non-scientific jobs. It will get about 500 scientists on its permanent staff and perhaps another 500 visitors at any one time. They'll buy, as the *New York Times* put it, "an awful lot of pizzas, lawn mowers and homes." No wonder at least half

the states are preparing pitches. When the SSC is finally awarded to a state, the broad support may prove to be shallow, too.

As Secretary Herrington's remarks show, the SSC is plainly a weapon in nationalistic competition. "Competitiveness" is the buzzword in Washington these days, and it's sure to come up whenever the SSC is discussed.

Not only does the U.S. want to be first in particle physics, but politicians are being reminded that many important practical developments began life as basic research, including the transistor and, currently, low-temperature superconductors. So while learning about the origin of the universe, perhaps scientists will learn something to provide an edge in the economic battle with Japan.

Finally, politicians like to keep physicists happy. Stuart Lindsay, a physicist at Arizona State University, said, "Politicians are comfortable with the physics community—they've made them their weapons."

Not everyone thinks the SSC really has

broad support. Penn State's Roy believes that 98 percent of all scientists, were they to be polled, would choose other things to do scientifically with \$6 billion. "At least a million things will rank above the SSC in scientific value," he said.

Ultimately, Roy doesn't believe even the administration truly supports the SSC. "It's something to distract the public from Iran-gate," he says.

Billy Goodman is a science writer based in Brooklyn.

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ALTERNATIVE JOBS INTERNSHIP opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, 1319 18th St., NW, Box 1029, Washington, DC 20036.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR for non-profit research and education center addressing hunger and social justice issues. Responsibilities include coordinating all departments, handling personnel functions, preparing budget and monitoring cash-flow, and implementing long-term strategic goals. Minimum five years relevant experience, including program development and financial management. Commitment to progressive social change a must. Salary negotiable, full benefits. Resume and cover letter to: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 145 Ninth St., San Francisco, CA 94103. Deadline is July 10. EOE.

ORGANIZER with the Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice. To work on the issues of the militarization of Florida, impact on women, Central America and the arms race. Fund-raising administrative skills a must. Office in Orlando. \$12,000 plus health insurance. Send resumes ASAP: TPC, Box 431, Tallahassee, FL 32302; (904) 222-5845.

CANVASS DIRECTOR COMMUNITY EDUCATOR. Feminist organization seeks activist to run canvass project. Call LACAAW (213) 651-5962.

MIDDLE EAST RESEARCH and Information Project (MERIP) has full-time opening in New York office for assistant to publisher. Position requires initiative and responsibility. Tasks include fund-raising, working with volunteers, circu-

C L A S S I F I E D S

lation management. Excellent office skills required. Good working conditions. Competitive pay plus benefits. Send resume to: MERIP, 475 Riverside Dr., Room 518, New York, NY 10115.

IN THESE TIMES has an opening for Part-time telephone sales. Must be articulate. Experience preferred. Independent worker who can meet deadlines a must. Flexible evening hours. Call Leenie at 472-5700 9-5 M-F.

READY FOR A HOT SUMMER? If you want to work with neighborhood groups in low-income areas to take direct action on crucial issues like housing, rape, health care and bank red-lining then ACORN wants you. Jobs in 26 states. Candidates must have strong social/political commitment, plus desire for career advancement. Contact Sue Hutchinson, ACORN, 300 Flatbush, Brooklyn, NY 11217. (718) 789-5600.

THE MISSOURI COALITION for the Environment is hiring a Canvass Director for its Kansas City office. MCE is an 18-year-old citizen-based group involved in successful campaigns on toxics, solid waste, and parkland preservation. MCE is seeking a political individual interested in designing issue campaigns to involve canvassed citi-

zens in innovative ways. Responsibilities include supervision of all aspects of door-to-door fundraising and advocacy canvass. Canvassing experience necessary. Experience with political campaigns a plus. Starting salary: \$12,000-\$13,000, paid life and health after probationary period, progressive vacation policy. Contact Arthur Towers, Executive Director, MCE, 6267 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63130. (314) 727-0600.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT AREA. Association for Union Democracy seeks Hartford representative. Part-time, \$6,500. Write AUD, 30 Third Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. Friends of Farmworkers seeks an Executive Director with strong management and leadership abilities. This newly created position will work closely with the legal counsel to manage a growing organization that provides legal services to farmworkers in Eastern Pennsylvania. Friends of Farmworkers maintains an administrative office in Philadelphia, and three satellite offices. Respon-

sibilities include: Supervision of daily activities of agency personnel, hiring and evaluation, supervision of accounting activities, proposal writing and other fundraising, Board development and liaison, media and community outreach, and long-term planning. Legal background not required. Bilingual English/Spanish very helpful. Salary \$30,000 plus benefits. Minorities encouraged to apply. Send resumes to: Bonnie McFarlane, Ford Webb Associates, 6 Walden St., Concord, MA 01742.

BOOKS

"NECESSITY DEFENSE VS. REAGAN'S CENTRAL AMERICA POLICY"—The trial of the Winooski 44 as the jury heard it. Testimony by former CIA agent John Stockwell, legal scholar Richard Falk, eyewitnesses to contra atrocities and defendants. "There is an unspoken faith here in the power of truth and humanity." "This book is essential." *Por Amor al Pueblo: ¡Not Guilty!* \$10 ppd., Front Porch Publishing, RFD 2, Box 281, WRJct., VT 05001.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—"The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

PENTAGON MISCHIEF EXPOSED. Free sample. RECON, Box S-14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

GRENADA BULLETIN. Political and economic conditions, human rights violations, women's issues, labor movement, Maurice Bishop murder trial. Send \$5 for 1987 to Committee for Human Rights in Grenada, P.O. Box 20714, New York, NY 10025.

WORK/STUDY

LIBRARIES CAN EFFECT CHANGE. Libraries are the only true possibility for public egalitarian institutions. B.A./B.S.

holders earn the accredited masters degree in library & information science. Assistantship support of \$7,200 for library work while earning degree. Write for free information: Louisiana State University, School of Library and Information Science, Social Justice Specialty, 267 Coates Hall, Baton Rouge, LA 70803.

PRODUCTS

"\$5.50 — RAISE THE MINIMUM WAGE" buttons, \$1.00. Twenty for \$5.50. Free catalogue. Socialist Party Favors, Box 8211-T, Des Moines, IA 50306.

TRAVEL

DELEGATIONS TO NICARAGUA. Departing monthly July-November. Anniversary, Educators, Artists, Women. \$890.00 roundtrip from Mexico. Socio-political itinerary. Casa Nicaragua (312) 728-5561.

PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links left singles, nationwide. Free sample. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

SINGLE WORKING FATHER seeks maternal woman for care of 7 year old girl and some housekeeping, starting in August for the school year. Room, board, stipend, automobile and leisurely simplicity provided. Write Leslie Bateson, Box 66, Bluffton, SC 29910. (803) 757-3301.

AM WILLING TO BE surrogate mother for kind, caring humanist/Unitarian couple. If interested write: P.O. Box 4362, Lincoln, NE 68504-4362.

VIDEO

SUPPORT ABORTION RIGHTS. Educational Slideshow/Video on support for abortion rights, focusing on the impact of funding cutbacks, and issues of concern to women of color. Available in slides or VHS. Rental fee \$15. Contact Reproductive Rights Access Project-The Women's Building, 3543 18th St., Box 29, S.F., CA 94110, (415) 621-3870.

VOLUNTEERS

VOLUNTEER CONSTRUCTION WORK IN NICARAGUA. Skilled trades people and Spanish speakers especially needed. Call HAP-NICA at (313) 761-7960 for more information.

"My country invaded Nicaragua...and all I got was this lousy Teeshirt." Or **BASEBALL DIPLOMACY—BATS NOT BOMBS.** \$9.95 + \$2 handling. Ck M.O. to: Baseball Diplomacy Inc. Sports Diplomacy, 12335 Santa Monica Blvd., LA, CA 90025. Baseball shirts = \$14.95. See Calendar.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

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LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

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MATT
GREENING

SCHOOL IS HELL

AN INCORRIGIBLE CARTOON SERIES

WHAT IS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL FOR?

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL IS A HOLDING PEN DESIGNED TO HELP US THROUGH OUR FORMATIVE "SNOTTY" YEARS.

BY ISOLATING US FROM GRADE SCHOOL KIDS, WE WILL BE LESS LIKELY TO TORTURE THEM.

BY ISOLATING US FROM HIGH SCHOOL KIDS, WE WILL BE LESS LIKELY TO RECEIVE THE BEATINGS WE SO RICHLY DESERVE.

LESSON 10: JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL—THE DEEPEST PIT IN HELL

ARE ALL JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL KIDS OBNOXIOUS MONSTERS?

NO. SOME OF THE MONSTERS ARE QUITE CHARMING. DIFFERENCES IN THE RATE OF GROWTH CAUSE WIDE VARIATIONS IN MONSTROSITY AMONG JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL KIDS.

YOU MAY BE A HULKING GIANT

OR YOU MAY BE A GIANT'S LITTLE FOOTSTOOL

THINGS ARE IMPROVING. BACK IN GRADE SCHOOL THEY TREATED YOU LIKE YOU WERE IN NURSERY SCHOOL. HERE IN JUNIOR HIGH YOU GET TREATED WITH THE DIGNITY DUE A MATURE KINDERGARTENER.

YOU MAY BE A BUDDING GENIUS

EUREKA!! THE SECRET FORMULA FOR X-RAY SPEX!!

MAN! THE LAST TWELVE VIDEOS HAVE BEEN CRUMMY. MAYBE THE NEXT ONE'LL BE COOL.

OR YOU MAY BE A BUDDING GOOFUS.

YOU MAY STILL PLAY WITH DOLLS

BAD BABY! BAD BABY!

HUSH, MY WEB ONES.

OR YOU MAY BE A BRAND-NEW MAMA.

WHAT TO DO WHEN YOUR GUSHING HORMONES WON'T LET YOU PAY ATTENTION

BITE YOUR NAILS

CHEW YOUR SKIN

TAP YOUR FEET

CLEAR YOUR THROAT

SQUINT

SNIFFLE

DRUM YOUR FINGERS

TWITCH

GRIMACE

STARE INTO SPACE

MAKE DISCOVERIES

HEY, ADOLESCENTS!!! DON'T WORRY ABOUT YOUR TROUBLES, YOUR INABILITY TO CONCENTRATE, YOUR SHAMEFUL URGES, OR YOUR PLUMMETING GRADES. IT'S ALL PART OF GROWING UP TO BE JUST LIKE YOUR PARENTS!

AND ALWAYS REMEMBER THE MAGIC JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLER WORDS:

DO I HAFTA?

I DON'T FEEL LIKE IT.

OH, MAN.

C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

LOS ANGELES

July 9-12

New Jewish Agenda National Convention: 800-1,000 U.S. Jewish progressive activists will gather on the UCLA campus to debate national political strategy on: peace and justice in the Middle East and Central America, feminism, disarmament, lesbian and gay rights, economic and social justice, opposition to racism, including anti-Semitism and apartheid. Major addresses by: I.F. Stone, Rabbi David Saperstein, Adrienne Rich, Israeli Knesset member Shulamit Aloni, Robert Shear. Non-

members welcome. For full convention info. write NJA '87, 7213 Beverly Blvd., LA, CA 90036, or phone (213) 934-4099 or (212) 277-5885.

SOUTHERN CA/CUBA

July 25

We played Cuban Beisbol in May: now Mexico, their Pan American Games bound team is coming to California for the Baseball Diplomacy Games—July 25-August 2. October '87, BD hosted the Nicaraguans, so in March '88 it's the Campeón Mundial Cuban Selección Nacional to the U.S. Baseball Diplomacy Inc./Sports Diplomacy is the volunteer, non-profit peace-through-sports agency. Join us in Havana for the Intercontinental (Beisbol) Cup this October, and watch for our U.S./Jordan/Israel youth soccer matches in southern California this summer. (See classified.) Write: Baseball Diplomacy, 12335 Santa Monica Blvd., L.A., CA 90025, or call (213) 453-8547/207-3579.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

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60¢ per word / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues

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\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
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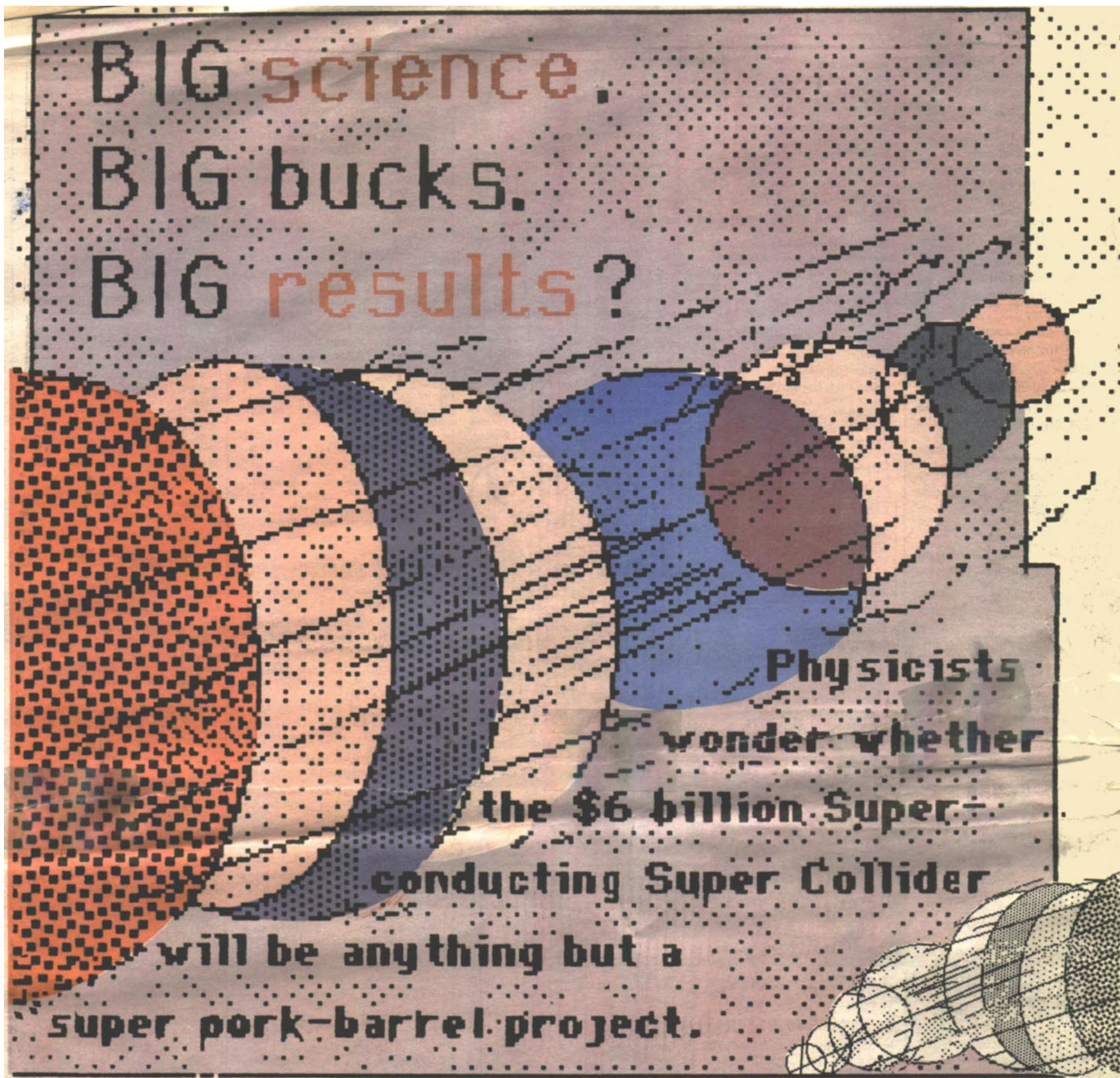
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By Billy Goodman

IN THE 1940S, THE AMERICAN PHYSICS COMMUNITY rallied around a huge scientific project to create a Big Bang known as the atomic bomb. Now, in the late 1980s, the American physics community is rallying around a huge scientific project whose goal is to understand an even bigger bang, the creation of the universe.

The new project is the Superconducting Super Collider (SSC). If built, the SSC will be the ultimate in particle accelerators, which are essentially immense demolition derbies for the tiny subatomic particles that make up matter. In the SSC, two beams of positively charged protons will be accelerated to almost the speed of light, focused by powerful superconducting magnets and forced to collide head-on.

The collision will release, in an infinitesimally small region, enough energy to give physicists a glimpse of the universe at its creation.

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What will make a controlled collision of such magnitude possible is the SSC's size: a tunnel forming a ring 52 miles in circumference. Making the SSC truly super is its price: about \$6 billion spread out over the next 10 years, and then an additional \$270 million a year to operate.

Is understanding the Big Bang worth such big bucks?

What matters? Not surprisingly, particle physicists (who are politically astute and usually present a united front) say it is. The SSC is the next step in their science; it's the only way to find out about matter back in those early fractions of a nanosecond of the universe.

Rustum Roy, one of the nation's leading materials scientists and director of the Program on Science, Technology and Society at Pennsylvania State University, says the SSC isn't worth its price tag. He compares the SSC to a shovel, a tool. The SSC represents trivial science, he said in a recent interview. "The detail of the origin of the universe is

not a fundamental question. Nobody except a few physicists will understand it. It is not a cathedral; nobody can walk into it and get solace from it."

At least some physicists in fields remote from particle physics believe that the SSC is scientifically worthwhile, according to my unscientific survey of them at the March meeting of the American Physical Society. One, whose views were largely negative, admitted that "every new generation of accelerators has produced something new." Even if they raised the question of its cost, most of these physicists felt the machine's potential justified the expense.

Most criticism of the SSC has been muted and not as fundamental as Roy's. Instead, the common lament is that the SSC will draw money away from more worthwhile scientific research.

That fear is based on a view of scientific funding as coming from one inelastic trough. The evidence for such a zero-sum game—in which more money for particle physics

means less for condensed matter physics—is not strong. Virtually all scientists and politicians who have commented on SSC funding, no matter what their views on the collider's merits, have said any money appropriated must be new money. That seems unrealistic, however; several billion dollars has to come from somewhere, and some of it is likely to come from other physics projects.

Daniel Kleppner, professor of physics at MIT and an expert on small-scale physics, says the SSC, as a national program, is "good science." But he worries whether quality can be maintained in small science, the kinds of science that are not organized around major facilities.

Shoring up the academy: Kleppner is one of a growing number of scientists to argue for the importance of shoring up university research. "The system is run down," he says. "The whole infrastructure of science is deteriorating." In a similar vein, Roy said

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